

COMMUNITY COLLEGE CONCEPTS

A Comparative Educational Analysis of the  
Nature and Development of Community Colleges  
in the U.S.A., Canada, U.K. and Australia.

by

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STATEMENT

The thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and, to the best of my knowledge and belief contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'L. Cini', written in dark ink.

L. CINI

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### ABBREVIATIONS

AAJC	American Association of Junior Colleges
AACJC	American Association of Community and Junior Colleges
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
CAAT	College of Applied Arts and Technology (Ontario)
CAE	College of Advanced Education (Australia)
CEGEP	College d'Enseignement General et Professionnel (Quebec)
DOCIT	Directors of Central Institutes of Technology (Australia)
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LEA	Local Education Authority (U.K.)
OECD	Organisation for Economic and Cultural Development
RAC	Regional Advisory Council (U.K.)
SCI	Short Cycle Institution
TAFE	Technical and Further Education (Australia)
TEND	Tasmanian Education: Next Decade (Report)
T.E.S.	The Times Educational Supplement
T.H.E.S.	The Times Higher Educational Supplement

PART I: INTRODUCTIONTHE THESIS

Through comparative methods the thesis will concentrate on the common features in the nature and development of community colleges in the United States of America, Canada and England. The insights gained will then be used to examine the influences behind the origins and developments of Australian community colleges.

In the case of the U.S.A. and Canada the study inevitably makes considerable reference to developments within the broader tertiary educational contexts in which their community colleges operate. English community colleges, when compared with North American community colleges, present difficulties as they operate within the secondary sector. The difficulties are not insuperable as all "community colleges" regard themselves in varying degrees as having some kind of special relationship however nebulous or well-defined with a "community", particularly its adult component, and at a general level experience similar problems in attempting to cope with this relationship. Further, the thesis assumes that, unlike the U.S.A. and Canada where the basic institutional patterns at the post-secondary level have been established in most cases for at least a decade, England is in the process of evolving new institutional patterns partly in response to the increased demands for access to further and higher education, particularly from the 16-19 age group. There is material in this transitional process for comparison, albeit speculative, between North American community colleges and some institutions such as the tertiary colleges which show signs of adopting parallel functions at similar levels within the broader tertiary educational sectors of England.

The questions to be posed fall in four areas -

1. The Concept

What are the common characteristics of community colleges?

What similarities and differences are there in the philosophical,

social and economic factors underpinning their origins and determining their developmental patterns?

## 2. Developmental Patterns

What similarities and differences are there in their developmental patterns?

## 3. Ideal Types

Is it possible to construct Weberian ideal types as tools for analysing aspects of the interaction between community colleges and the wider formal educational context in which they operate on the one hand, and the "community" they serve on the other?

## 4. The Australian Situation

What community colleges are evolving or being planned in Australia?

Which of the ideal types do they most closely approximate? What factors are inhibiting and encouraging their developments? What changes, if any, would facilitate the growth of community colleges?

The thesis divides into five sections. The first, second, and third sections deal with an examination of community colleges and other related developments in the USA, Canada and England respectively. The fourth analyses the common elements in the developmental patterns of community colleges in all three countries which are then used to construct a typology for classification and further analyses of these factors. The typology involves the construction of four ideal type community colleges. The fifth section applies the insights gained and the analytical tools derived from the typology in a study of community college developments in Australia.

## A Note on Methodology

George Bereday describes the comparative method as involving four stages -

1. Description and the systematic collection of data.
2. The interpretation and analyses in terms of the social sciences of the data gained.
3. The juxtaposition of this material with data gained from a simultaneous

review of several educational systems to determine the framework in which to compare them.

4. Comparison either of select problems or the total relevance of education in several countries involving a testing of hypotheses.<sup>1</sup>

The first three sections of this study covers the first two stages of the comparative method as outlined by Bereday - basically description and interpretation. The fourth section covers the final two stages - the development of a framework for comparison and the application of that comparison in the study of select problems. As the study emphasises strongly developments that are current it is very difficult to construct hypotheses that can be immediately tested. Instead the study has attempted to generate hypotheses for further study and has speculated considerably on possible outcomes in the future which could validate these hypotheses.

This approach would not seem to be out of keeping with many modern comparative educational studies. Edmund King has pointed out that though every decision in education as elsewhere is a new one given the frequent occurrence of the unexpected, industrialisation, urbanisation and developments in communication have tended to increase the similarity of influences at work, of expectations and of solutions proposed in many developed countries. These similarities enhance the prospects of comparison. King also points out the interest in ideological considerations is decreasing in favour of "operational concepts". "In terms of educational decision, this means less talk about the 'aims of education' and 'theories of knowledge' in abstract form, and more discussion about the actualities of educational opportunity, the actualities of the learning process as a whole ...." He adds that theories "do not usually attempt to indicate geometrical or algebraic inevitability, but simply 'enlightened oversight', or else 'theories' which nowadays are 'working hypotheses' require substantiation by a great deal of careful enquiry in the field".<sup>2</sup>

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1. Bereday, George, Z.F. Comparative Method in Education, Columbia University, Holt Rinehart and Winston Inc. 1964.
  2. King, Edmund. "Comparative Studies and Policy Decisions" in Comparative Studies in Adult Education, edited by Cliff Bennett, J.Roby Kidd, Jindra Kulich, a project of the International Council for Adult Education, Publications in Continuing Education, Syracuse University, August 1975. pp.107-109.



This study gives some consideration to the ideological influences involved in the origins and developments of community colleges but the overall bias, particularly the construction of the ideal types, is towards analyses of the operations of community colleges and the construction of "working hypotheses" for further testing.

## PART II: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

### CHAPTER 1

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN PUBLIC COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Professor John Dennison, Department of Higher Education, University of British Columbia has written on the Community College concept for the Australian Government Commission of Enquiry into poverty.

He lists the following general characteristics of the Community College which applies to the American and Canadian situation, particularly British Columbia:

#### Responsiveness to the Community

For Dennison the term "community" when linked with the word "college" implies emphasis on meeting the needs of the community which sustains the "college". These would tend to be programmes available in the vocational, trade and technological areas in response to future employment needs in the community, and courses offered under the continuing and adult education division in the college reflecting requests for such courses or the interest displayed in studies conducted by the college.

The College is a cultural centre for the community. College facilities particularly the library, physical education and art departments are shared with the community through both formal course offering and recreational periods.

The governing board is composed of citizens resident in the college community.

The community also influences the extent and choice of academic or university transfer areas of the college curriculum.

#### The Open Door Admission Policy

This policy virtually means that any citizens of the college community irrespective of their age, sex, previous level of education or educational credentials may gain admission to the college. Dennison

uses the word "may" and goes on to point out that not all college courses and programmes are open to all students. He argues that what is meant is that there is an obligation upon the college to provide educational experiences in the form of basic skill or bridging courses. These allow the student to correct whatever educational deficiencies he has before embarking on the programme of his choice.

#### The Counselling Function of the College

Extensive counselling with regard to the open admission policy is viewed as essential by most community college spokesmen. Dennison points out that many college students delay their commitment to certain programmes while many others change their programmes within the college on at least one occasion. The function of the counsellor in these cases is obvious.

#### The Multi-Purpose College Curriculum

Dennison lists five different types of programmes as part of a typical college curriculum -

#### Universities Equivalency Courses

1. Universities equivalency courses for most degree programmes offered by the Universities at the first and often the second year level. Successful completion of these courses can lead to transfer at full credit with a university or equivalent.
2. Para-professional technology programmes, usually of one, two or three year duration, leading to employment.
3. Vocational and trade programmes of various lengths leading to placement in specific employment. Job retraining would be an important aspect of this enterprise.
4. Adult continuing education in its various forms, including recreational, cultural and non-credit offerings in addition to courses leading to a high school graduation diploma.
5. Remedial education and basic skill training.

### Decentralisation of College Services

Geographic accessibility has been found to be a major factor in determining the extent to which the college is used by the community. There is a tendency as a result for most colleges to decentralise their facilities throughout the community. One large campus is provided where most, if not all courses and programmes are available, but a college presence is to be found in other areas of the community where the population indicates that certain programmes are viable. The college outlets can be in temporary or rented facilities including halls, community centres, libraries and public school buildings.

He also points out that, from a state or provincial point of view, the general aim is to place a community college or branch campus within commuting distance of every citizen.

### Flexibility in College Attendance Patterns

The College normally operates from 8 a.m. until 10 p.m. Every effort is made to meet the needs of the student as far as the scheduling of courses is possible, and programmes requested by business and industry are offered at times suitable for the sponsoring group.

Colleges also operate on a semester, trimester or quarterly basis which allows for far greater flexibility in the scheduling of courses. Adult education courses previously available only in the evenings are also offered during the day, when many adult students particularly women can attend.

### Relations with Manpower, Labour and Employment Agencies

Given the employment needs of the 1970s, and the colleges' commitment to the provision of trade training and retraining, special relationships have been developed with government agencies who assess manpower needs and deal with the problem of unemployment.

### Teaching as a First Priority

Teaching receives a far higher priority than research. Faculty members are required to be available to students in periods out of the

classroom, while teaching loads are heavier than those found in universities.

### Aspects Of The College Curriculum

#### Comprehensiveness

Dennison maintains that the comprehensive curriculum of the community college has several advantages.

Apart from a number of economic advantages to be gained from the co-operative use of facilities, equipment and faculty in placing all options under the one administrative umbrella, he believes there are also real gains of an educational kind.

Student mobility between programmes is enhanced. As circumstances change, so the student can alter his educational goals. For example, he can withdraw from the institution without the personal and psychological difficulties which usually accompany such a step. The counselling services would encourage him to seek another programme option which better meets his interests and capabilities. There will be no need to "shop around" various institutions to explore different admission and academic requirements. The situation is well-suited to many students both college age and adult who are unsure of their educational goals and far from committed to a specific programme.

The student will be able to take courses and electives which are supplementary to his major programme. There will be greater opportunities for students taking different majors to mix.

Multi-purpose institutions would also help to diminish the status differences that exist between single-purpose institutions and between professions.

A wide range of students both in age, in years away from formal education, in social and experiential background, academic ability and performance, in ideals, hopes and aspirations for the future would help promote understanding and appreciation through constant informal contacts.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Dennison, Professor John. "The Concept of the Community College", in Lifelong Education and Poor People: Three Studies, Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, A.G.P.S., Canberra, 1976. pp.55-58.

It is interesting to compare Dennison's list of programmes in a typical college curriculum with the following given by Leland L. Medsker:

1. Preparation for advanced education
2. Career education
3. Guidance
4. Developmental education
5. General Education
6. Community Service

Medsker's first two - Preparation for advanced education and Career education - roughly parallel Dennison's university equivalent courses, paraprofessional technology programmes and vocational and trade programmes.

Guidance is listed by Medsker as a programme and by Dennison as a function independent of but supporting the college curriculum.

Developmental education would approximate Dennison's remedial education and basic skill training.

The real differences lie in Medsker's inclusion of general education and his use of the term "community service" which is broader and different to Dennison's adult continuing education.<sup>2</sup>

#### General Education

Spokesmen for the junior and community college movement speak of general education as a high priority in community colleges.

Johnson identified five types of general education -

1. The great books approach
2. A study of the Liberal Arts
3. Surveys of Fields of Knowledge
4. Individualised Study
5. Functional Subject Matter (based on "life needs" of students and on the demands of the society in which they are going to live).<sup>3</sup>

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2. Medsker, Leland L. and Tillery Dale. Breaking The Access Barriers: A Profile of a Two-Year College, The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, McGraw - Hill, 1971.

3. Johnson, Lamar B. "Patterns of General Education", Junior College Journal XVII, October 1946, cited by Goodwin, Gregory L. A Social Panacea: A History of the Community - Junior College Ideology, Bakersfield, California, September 1973, p.194.

Medsker also quotes L.B. Mayhew and P.L. Dressel. They point out that general education originally grew out of a protest against compartmentalisation of knowledge; proliferation of courses; evils of elective systems; content instead of student orientation; and disproportionate emphasis on research. They concluded there was a need for a new integrative principle and hoped that it would lie in interdisciplinary programmes.<sup>4</sup>

### Adult Education

The term adult education causes considerable confusion in the American context. A close examination of the situation in California will illustrate the general picture.

Higher educational institutions have used terms such as extension, the extended-day, part-time, adult, evening classes and continuing education to describe adult education. A report of a survey of the needs of California's Higher Education in 1948 ("The Strayer Report") pointed out the urgent need for definition of the functions of areas of service to adults to be assigned to each segment of higher education. Again in 1955 a re-study of the needs of California in higher education noted the confusion and occasional friction that existed in the field of adult education and extension courses in the junior colleges, state colleges and universities. The staff which prepared the 1948 Strayer Report and the re-study recognised the impossibility of spelling out completely and finally the differentiation of functions in the field of adult education.

Adult education in junior colleges involves mainly extended day classes composed largely of students enrolled for college credit who have met the same entrance and matriculation standards as are required of regular full time day students. In 1958-59 approximately 229,000 Californians enrolled in such programmes, were distributed by percentage as follows - business education 15.8%; industrial, technical agricultural 21.7%; parent education and home-making 6.2%; civic education 9.8%; social sciences, other 15.3%; mathematics and physical science 11%; language (English and

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4. Mayhew, L. B. and Dressel, P. L. General Education: Explorations in Evaluation. Final Report of the Co-operative Study of Evaluation, American Council on Education, Washington D.C., 1954, cited by Medsker and Tillery. Breaking The Access Barriers. p.268.

foreign) 10%; fine arts and music 4.6%; crafts 2.9%; health, physical education 3.2%.

Adult education is also provided in state colleges and the University of California. State colleges offer late afternoon and evening or extended day programmes. They also offer regular courses for workshops off-campus to meet a special need in the "field" (such as teacher education) which are listed as extension courses. In 1957-58 the total of 650 such classes enrolled 21,520 students; the largest group were enrolled in education, history, government and psychology. The Extension Division of the University offers instructional programmes to adults through classes, conferences, correspondence courses, and discussion programmes. In addition various auxiliary courses are provided including campus lectures and speakers, bureau services to community organisations, musical and dramatic programmes; films; film rental from the statewide film library, film production, counselling and testing services and consultative services.<sup>5</sup>

#### Community Service

"Community services are educational, cultural and recreational services which an educational institution may provide for its community in addition to its regularly scheduled day and evening classes."<sup>6</sup>

Examples include - the development of "storefront", guidance centres, in the black communities of central Cleveland by Cuyahoga College; the provision of English as Second Language Programmes to the homes of black citizens and spanish immigrants in Chicago by Malcolm X College; and special programmes seeking to help blacks and chicanos by Peralta Junior College at Oakland, involving four centres in surrounding poor communities

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5. A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960-1975. Prepared for the Liaison Committee of the State Board of Education and the Regents of the University of California.
  6. Harlacher, Ervin L. The Community Dimension of the Community College. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1967. p.11.



and a core of student workers and professional staff running courses in legal rights, household management, English, childcare and career and academic courses. <sup>7</sup>

Its genesis lies in three major developments according to Harlacher -

1. The establishment of the American Lyceum, the first example of an institution in the U.S. dedicated to the principle of citizen participation in community development, the importance of the community climate in problem-solving on a face-to-face basis and the utilisation of educational resources to solve practical problems.
2. The community school concept in public schools.
3. The community development concept in four year institutions of higher learning, particularly following the establishment of agricultural extension as a function of American higher education, under the Morrill Act (1862) and the S.Smith-Lever Acts (1914). During the 1940s, a number of pilot projects in 4 year institutions which helped to define and popularise community development as a specialised function of higher education. However universities tended to remain selective.

Harlacher argues the implementation of community services involves the acceptance of the following principles -

- "(i) In a community college the campus is the length and breadth of the junior college district.
- (ii) The programme of community services is designed to bring the community to the college and take the college programme out into the community.
- (iii) The educational programme of the college must not be limited to formalised classroom instruction.
- (iv) The community college recognises its responsibility as a catalyst in community development and self-improvement.
- (v) The programme of community services meets community needs and does not duplicate existing services in the community."

Harlacher acknowledges the confusion over the definition of community services. In his view this stems from at least two misconceptions -

1. That community services and adult or continuing education are synonymous.
2. That the community services programme constitutes a programme of educational public relations.

He feels that adult education should be defined as "little more than formalised evening classes for adults".

He has also pointed out that "continuing education" is being increasingly substituted for "adult education" and argued this would be an appropriate term to describe "the entire formal education, day and evening, credit and non-credit".

For Harlacher, community education however, involves all age groups, occupations, and levels of educational development - informal as well as formal.<sup>8</sup>

It is important to note that in recent years several leading spokesmen for the community college movement have been giving greater attention to the community function. In 1976 the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges co-operated with the Federal Government's State Legislation Study of "Community-based, performance-oriented educational programmes".<sup>9</sup>

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8. Harlacher. op cit. pp.17-15.

9. See Community and Junior College Journal, 48, 1, September 1977, p.17.

CHAPTER 2GENERAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE

The institutional roots of the American Junior College lies in the introduction of the Academy by Benjamin Franklin in the mid 18th century. Franklin was concerned with the narrowness of the Latin Grammar Schools which were the chief type of preparatory institution for college studies. He borrowed the model of the English Dissenters Academy which was based on John Calvin's Geneva Academy. The American version developed a two track curriculum - classical and more "practical" (English). The Academy's classical curriculum greatly overlapped the American four year college's curriculum. The overlap between academy and college was discussed in New York State as early as 1787. Political pressures led to Academy graduates being granted advanced standing by examination to second, third or even fourth years of the college. At the same time academies were given the legal capability of escalation to college status upon reaching stated financial and curricula levels. As the frontier moved westwards, the pattern of overlap between academies and colleges followed.<sup>1</sup>

The 1874 Supreme Court decision in favour of school boards collecting taxes for the support of high schools in Michigan, opened the doors for the public support and establishment of high schools throughout the U.S. Academies continued to develop and expand as independent schools unsupervised by the states with considerable appeal to the middle classes, but the expansion of public high schools was even greater. These also offered at minimum two types of curricula - "practical" courses for "female students" and classical courses for those wishing to prepare for college.<sup>2</sup>

After World War I young American scholars returned from the German states impressed with the overall organisation of German higher education. Ticknor, Sparks and Bancroft of Harvard University, and Henry E. Dwight of Yale supported the suggestion that the academy-college pattern be

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1. Martorana, S.V. "Community-Junior Colleges in the United States" in Short-Cycle Higher Education, OECD, 1973, pp.94-94.
  2. Elgayar S.I.M. The Impact of Modern Democratic Thought on Education, with special Reference to England and the United States. Thesis submitted in partial requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, Institute of Education, 1967, pp.342-344.

replaced by a German gymnasium-university pattern. This was not adopted.

Admiration for German Higher Education led to the proposal that the university foster development of strong academies and high schools which would complete a student's general education near his home, leaving universities free to develop upper division, professional and graduate studies. Henry P. Tappan, the first President of the University of Minnesota, unsuccessfully attempted to have lower division work abolished in their respective universities, but did establish the idea that a formal cleavage between the general education lower division and the professional education upper division was viable.<sup>3</sup>

William Rainey Harper, the first President of the University of Chicago, also subscribed to the view that higher education should be freed for specialised study and research along German lines. He advocated an earlier end to general study so that truly higher education could claim its rightful position as the capstone of a complete education.<sup>4</sup>

Harper had considerable influence in the creation of Joliet Junior College in 1901, the nation's first public junior college. He actively encouraged the development of junior colleges by urging the smaller and financially hard pressed four year colleges to discontinue their upper division work. He and his staff travelled considerably, especially in the Mid-West, trying to persuade local boards of education to add two years of post-high school work to their existing high school programmes. It was through these efforts that Joliet Junior College was begun. They proposed that the junior colleges should adopt a special affiliated relationship with the University of Chicago. Students who completed their junior college programmes at these affiliated junior colleges were virtually assured of admission into the University of Chicago.<sup>5</sup>

Not all agree that Harper directly influenced the founding of

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3. Martorana. op.cit. p.96.

4. Goodwin, Gregory L. "The Nature and the Nurture of the Community College Movement", Community College Frontiers, 4, 3, Spring 1976, pp.5-13.

5. Griffith, William S. "Harper's Legacy", Community College Frontiers, 14, 3, Spring 1976, pp.14-20.

Joliet Junior College. But they do agree that he directly affected the internal organisation of the university of Chicago. In 1892 various colleges of the university were divided into lower and upper levels. The lower levels were for freshmen and sophomore students and were called academic colleges until 1896 when they became known as junior colleges. Upper levels became known as university colleges until 1896 when they were renamed senior colleges.<sup>6</sup>

Another important figure, Alexis F. Lange, while the Chairman of the California State Board of Education strongly influenced the California Legislature in 1907 to pass the Junior College Law.<sup>7</sup> Lange was Dean of the College of Letters and Science at the University of California at Berkeley from 1897 to 1909, Dean of the Graduate School to 1910, Dean of Faculties till 1913 and Director of the School of Education from 1913 to his death in 1924. Following the passing of the Junior College Law he worked hard to ensure that junior colleges would develop throughout California beginning with one in Fresno in 1911.

In 1919 the number of private junior colleges was twice that of the public ones. However, the 39 public junior colleges together had nearly as many students as the private colleges combined.

The American Association of Junior Colleges was formed in 1920 under the control of the numerically superior private (non-public) junior colleges. During the next 20 years public junior colleges increased from 39 to 258 and accounted for two thirds of the national junior college enrolments.

The period 1920 to 1941 saw the beginnings of a divergence in ideology between the public and private junior colleges. The former became increasingly interested in "terminal education" or vocational/technical education, while the latter tended to stress "general education" or "education for life". The public colleges also began to broaden their functions to include adult education and community service.

6. Goodwin, Gregory L. A Social Panacea: A History of the Community-Junior College Ideology, Bakersfield, California, September 1973.

7. Griffith. op.cit p.19.

However the colleges, both public and private, began to develop identities independent of the universities during this period.<sup>8</sup>

After World War II, the impetus for the development of public junior and community colleges gained considerable strength. In fact few writers on the colleges mention in any great depth the period before World War II.

Goodwin refers to the Directory of the AAJC 1971 (page 6) which reported that in 1970 there were over 1,000 junior colleges and community colleges from all over 50 states enrolling nearly 2½ million students. These amounted to more than the total of all freshmen and sophomore students enrolling in four year colleges and universities.<sup>9</sup>

Medsker lists five major factors in explaining the post World War II expansion.

1. An expanding job market particularly one based on industrial technology led to demands for more industrial training.
2. Public Law 16, known as the G.I. Bill of Rights, enabled many returning servicemen to get financial support for higher education. Many turned to the community colleges with demands quite different from previous (higher education) students. Most were concerned with education for immediate career purposes.
3. With its global implications World War II led to a demand for enlightened comprehensive education. In a sense the War contributed considerably to the promotion of the concept of continuing education.
4. The Korean and Vietnam wars in turn all led to further enrolments by veterans taking advantage of federal and state financial support to further their education.
5. Minority Americans and disadvantaged groups started to demand equal educational opportunity.<sup>10</sup>

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8. Goodwin. op.cit pp.8-9.

9. Goodwin. History of the Community-Junior College Ideology, p.89.

10. Medsker and Tillery. Breaking The Access Barriers, p.15.

Goodwin argues for the inclusion of another factor. To quote:  
 "World shaking battles with fascist powers and the looming contest with international communism made Americans conscious of the need to strengthen their democratic republic ..... The concern heard from political rostrums and civic clubs was that Americans must learn to cherish their way of life and be prepared to defend it. Worry about the low level of awareness of the average high school graduate led to a new emphasis upon further education for all. An education was defined as general education for better citizenship".

Following Russia's successful launching of Sputnik I in 1957, community and junior colleges took a stronger interest in vocational training. The emphasis was much more on job related programmes, unlike the previous terminal education programmes which contained components of general as well as vocational education.

In the 1960s federal monies became increasingly earmarked for technical and vocational programmes, and business oriented boards of trustees released even more local tax revenues for job related programmes. The W.K.Kellogg Foundation began its substantial support of community college education in 1959 with millions of dollars aimed at developing semi-professional and technical programmes. <sup>11</sup>

With the diversification of functions in the 1950s and 1960s, the public junior colleges became less clear about their image and purposes. Inconsistent terminology was used to describe the new functions which in broad terms tended to include transfer programmes, terminal education, general education, adult education, community service, the remedial or salvage function (sometimes called developmental education), and student personnel services or counselling.

It was in these circumstances, in an attempt to overcome the image or identity crisis, that the term "community college" emerged. <sup>12</sup>

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11. Goodwin, op. cit. pp.10-12.

12. Goodwin, History of the Community- Junior College Ideology, p.191.

Despite the breadth of his studies on the history of the community college movement and its ideology, Goodwin failed to quote the growing list of spokesmen who were advocating strongly that the community college emphasised more the community rather than the college. For example he did not mention any of the much quoted works of Ervin L. Harlacher.

Harlacher, with growing support from other junior and community college leaders, notably Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., the current Executive Director of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, has been arguing for many years that the community college movement should make community service its prime and virtually total function.

The so called "identity crisis" has now been compounded by the levelling off of enrolments, a situation not anticipated by the colleges which enjoyed boom enrolment conditions from the end of World War II until about 1975. <sup>13</sup>

This situation raises interesting questions about the likely direction in the relationship between public community colleges and higher education in general. The growth of state master planning from the 1960s onwards has tended to lock the community college movement into the higher education sector. Given a situation of lessening or even declining enrolments, community college spokesmen are turning more of their attention to search for "new markets" (i.e. potential sources of new students). They no longer expect enrolments from among high school graduates - the traditional source - to rise any further. They are beginning to pin their hopes for the future on a steadily expansion of enrolment of older students, particularly women and from among disadvantaged groups. <sup>14</sup>

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13. Gleazer, Edmund J. "After the Boom.... What now for the Community Colleges?", Community and Junior College Journal, 44, 4, Dec/Jan 1974 pp.6-11.

14. See "Life Begins At ..... 60", Community and Junior College Journal 48, 2, October 1977; and "Marketing Education ...", Community and Junior College Journal, 48, 4, Dec/Jan 1977-1978.



CHAPTER 3THE EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PUBLIC COMMUNITY COLLEGEINTRODUCTION

In his study of the junior and community college movement, Goodwin used the term "community-junior college" to symbolise the inter-relationship between two of the major ideas in the movement.

1. That institutions be closely bound to their local communities.
2. That institutions faithfully duplicate the first two years of four year senior institutions.

His method was to study the writings of selected national community-junior college spokesmen - selected by frequency of indexed works in the "Readers Guide" and the "Education Index".

He argued that the basic mission of the community-junior college was to be a panacea for social ills. Its promoters wanted "a world that would be orderly, efficient and productive, and they knew the type of man they wished to mould - a man with a social conscience to blend harmoniously into the community and with the skills to perform his proper role at his proper level". The emphasis tended to be on training for "middle management". People at this level would help reduce friction between the masses and the educated elites. In turn the elites would get skilled assistance.

The junior college began in an age concerned with efficiency. The period 1890-1920 was one of great social upheaval. In this context educational ideas often carried connotations emphasising social stability.<sup>1</sup>

1880-1920: The Influence of Harper, Jordan and LangeEducation and American Society

Three university leaders had a strong influence on the beginnings of the junior college movement. William Rainey Harper was the first President of the University of Chicago. David Starr Jordan was the first President of Stanford University. Alexid F. Lange was the Director of the School of Education, University of California at Berkeley.

1. Goodwin. History of the Community-Junior College Ideology, pp.12-13.

Despite differences the three tended to be preoccupied with order, systematisation, efficiency and the elimination of waste. These were advocated as goals not simply ends. "Efficiency" was a term used as a hallmark of individual worth, and "social efficiency" as a functioning of an ideal society.

Goodwin also points out that the writings of the scientific management expert Frederick W. Taylor were widely read at the time. Jordan, Harper and Lange's ideas were therefore in keeping with the thinking of the times.<sup>2</sup> "Efficiency" clearly was seen to have social and moral as well as economic connotations. He quotes Lange, who did not deny that national progress called for specialised skills, but also argued that it depended "even more on a people's general social efficiency, i.e. on the height of the plain on which the greatest possible number of citizens are able to meet in thinking, feeling and hence willing".<sup>3</sup> Individual efficiency was seen as a necessary component of social efficiency. Education was to be instrumental in ingraining social efficiency in the internal make up of the individual. Only when internal control failed should external direction be supported.

Harper, Jordan and Lange regarded themselves as advocates of wider educational opportunity, but, according to Goodwin, their conception of democracy was not one in which men were to be equal. They tended to accept the theories of social Darwinism. Efficiency was seen as a standard of "fitness" by which survival and advancement would accrue.<sup>4</sup> Jordan, a biologist, was a student of eugenics. He believed that the main job of teachers was to break up the masses allowing the natural leaders to rise, and training the rest as well as possible.<sup>5</sup>

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2. Ibid. pp.24-28.

3. Lange, Alexis F. "New Wine in New Bottles", Manual Training Magazine XIX, September 1917, p.10 cited by Goodwin, History of The Community-Junior College Ideology, p.29. (Further references cited in this way will end "cited by Goodwin" only, followed by the page number).

4. Goodwin, op.cit pp.30-31.

5. Jordan, David Starr. The Care and Culture of Men, San Francisco, Thomas Whitaker and Ray Co., 1896, p.17, cited by Goodwin p.33.

Harper believed that the multitude held progress back. The forward looking minority was the moving force, that is the top minds in business, education and government.

Lange made stronger efforts not to betray democratic beliefs. He accepted the necessity of evolutionary change, but called upon universities to direct its progress. He believed that problem solving involving intelligence (man's faculty most advanced in the evolution of the species) could be achieved for the individual and for society through the interplay of thought and action. Lange's elitism, unlike that of Jordan and Harper, was not determined by blood nor by competitive superiority. His elites were "citizens" who shared attitudes of co-operation, action, loyalty and social efficiency which guaranteed morality and progress.<sup>6</sup>

#### The Organisation and Institutions of American Education

Harper saw the universities as the highest institutional forms in society whose role was the guiding light for future evolution.<sup>7</sup> He felt that the universities should discover a doctrine of "national righteousness" which would allow democratic progress to continue. "National righteousness" could be taught to the masses through the assistance of the universities. The purpose of the remainder of the education system was primarily to prepare students for the universities and distribute the doctrine of "national righteousness".

He saw the whole educational system as an organic entity that should be efficiently organised. He was for the reduction in elementary school years from 8 to 6 and an expansion of the high school at the lower and upper age limits. Elementary schools should concentrate on citizenship training, not the introduction of scientific subjects which would be better and more efficiently taught at high school. He envisaged a high school system which would take a child at 13 and develop a broad range of general subjects. At the age of 19 or 20, following two years of junior college instruction, the student would have reached personal maturity,

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6. Goodwin. op.cit pp.34-35.

7. Ibid. p.38.

combined with a general education background necessary to enter a professional school or specialised study at university.<sup>8</sup>

He believed that the traditional American colleges with four years of general studies were wasteful and inefficient. They overlapped with the new high school studies and were bound for extinction unless the majority could become two year junior colleges.<sup>9</sup>

Goodwin believes there is no evidence to suggest he directly persuaded some colleges to become junior colleges but some suggestion that he probably influenced others to do so. Harper expected the creation of junior colleges to occur within the secondary system, but did not give that development as high a priority as reducing the number of smaller colleges.

Jordan agreed with Harper on the fate of small colleges. In 1906 after the San Francisco earthquake he proposed that Stanford University devote itself entirely to professional training and research. Students applying for admission must have high school and two years of collegiate work behind them. The faculty recommended adoption after junior college developments made it practicable. This never occurred in Jordan's time.

Harper and Jordan both wanted to delegate lower university functions to junior colleges to enable the university structure to maintain its pre-eminence and devote itself more to research and professional training along the lines of German universities.<sup>10</sup>

Lange went much further than the other two in specifying the character of the ideal junior college. He had a public comprehensive junior college conception very different from Harper and Jordan's multi-institutional, university-oriented, junior college concept even though his ideological basis was the same. He saw junior colleges as the capstone of secondary education - an institution within a system which could educate an entire class of people below university level. It was not just a device for preparing university students.<sup>11</sup> He was impressed and influenced

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8. Ibid. p.41.

9. Ibid. p.52.

10. Ibid. pp.73-74.

11. Ibid. p.78.

by the German educational models, particularly the gymnasium. But he felt that the United States had internal reasons for adopting junior colleges. He stressed the American commitment to individual development and drew on the young field of psychology for support. He also pointed to the need "to increase economic efficiency of the nation through the creation of lower and middle systems of vocational education".<sup>12</sup> He was opposed to a separate vocational educational system, however, and talked more of social skills and attitudes involved in vocational education rather than specific mechanical skills.<sup>13</sup> He also thought that the junior college part should be located in an extended high school. He feared the small private college and the junior college located within the university system could end up being "a university entrance hall or vestibule".<sup>14</sup>

Lange was more in contact with the progressive movement than Harper and Jordan. He was strongly influenced by the ideas of John Dewey, Edward L. Thorndike, G. Stanley Hall and Lester Frank Ward in the first two decades of the 20 century.

Unlike Harper and Jordan who viewed junior colleges as part of a self-contained educational structure, Lange influenced by Dewey saw the school as needing to be of the community, not isolated from it. The community was regarded as a learning laboratory as well as a recipient of service from the school.

Goodwin believes he probably got some of his ideas from those high school advocates who were very energetically promoting school-community links at the time.<sup>15</sup>

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12. Lange, Alexis F. "The Junior College with Special Reference to California", Educational Administration II, January 1916, p.1. cited by Goodwin, p.78.

13. Goodwin. op.cit. p.81.

14. Lange, Alexis F. "The Junior College - What Manner of Child Shall This Be?", School and Society VII. Feb.23 1918, p.211, cited by Goodwin, p.82.

15. Goodwin. op.cit. p.85.

1920-1941: The Influence of Koos, Eells and CampbellTerminal Education

Although the period 1920-1941 was one of great upheaval, the major spokesmen for the community junior college movement showed no ideological change. The economic depression of the 1930s did not lead to a questioning of capitalist structure. The commitment and the emphasis still centered on the conviction that the community junior college with the educational design proposed could help maintain orderly efficient society.

The period saw a growing commitment by spokesmen to terminal education rather than preparation of students for university work. Terminal education as a concept had two component parts - vocational education and general education or development of social intelligence. The teaching of technical skills was not enough. The spokesmen felt there was a need to disseminate values, attitudes and behaviour which would produce loyal co-operative and trustworthy employees.<sup>16</sup> Their view of society was not far different from the elitest society envisioned by Harper, Jordan and Lange.

Goodwin names three professors of education as the main spokesmen for the movement in this period. Leonard V. Koos of the University of Chicago, Walter Crosby Eells of Stanford University, Doak S. Campbell of George Peabody University.

Koos made the first major study of the junior college movement. He employed the term "semi-professional" to refer to people above the trades and below the professional levels, and used the term "mental democratization" meaning the right of all to receive a type of education suited to their intellect. He believed junior colleges would allow students to begin college earlier and allow the moral influence of home to continue through difficult adolescent years.

Goodwin quotes his two volume publication "The Junior College" a Research Publication of the University of Minnesota, Education Series

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16. Ibid. pp.93-95.

No.5, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1924. He also quotes from a commercial publication "The Junior College Movement" Boston Ginn & Co., 1925.

He was opposed to the idea of junior colleges being part of higher education.<sup>17</sup>

Eells was the editor of the journal of the American Association of Junior Colleges from 1930 until 1945. In 1936 he reported follow-up data on nearly 7,000 Californian junior college students who had indicated in 1929 the intention to continue in a four year college or university. Only one quarter had actually transferred to a four-year college or a university, and of that quarter only one half had graduated by 1936. Amongst other things he concluded that the majority of students enrolling in junior colleges were potentially terminal students, and that there was a need to devise suitable curricula to meet their needs.<sup>18</sup>

Campbell was the Executive Secretary of the American Association of Junior Colleges from 1922 to 1938. In 1930 he completed a doctoral dissertation on stated aims of junior colleges. He noted that the terminal function was weakly represented in fact despite extensive literature in support.<sup>19</sup> Goodwin interestingly enough indicates that even then the number of functions of the "community-junior" college were lengthening, and that the main spokesmen were not in total agreement on what they entailed. For example Eells and Campbell agreed on three functions, namely, preparatory college training (transfer courses), terminal courses, and the popularising function, i.e. keeping increasing numbers of youths in college beyond the 12th grade, but differed on a fourth function - Eells tended to emphasize guidance and Campbell emphasized democratization.

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17. See - Koos, Leonard V., The Junior College, A Research Publication of the University of Minnesota, Education Series No.5, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1924, and, by the same author, The Junior College Movement, Boston Ginn and Co., 1925, cited by Goodwin pp.100-102.

18. Goodwin.op.cit p.107.

19. Ibid. p.113.

Despite differences all three spokesmen were loyal to the basic positions proposed by Harper, Jordan and Lange. They were concerned with an efficient, orderly stratified and stable society based upon the supposedly stratified qualities of human nature.<sup>20</sup>

Other "lesser" spokesmen, generally in the private junior college movement, tended to promote general rather than terminal education. James M. Wood, President of Stevens College for Women in Columbia, Missouri from 1912 to 1947 and President of the American Association of Junior Colleges in 1923 and 1924, experimented with orientation courses in humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and vocations plus "tool subjects" (reading, mathematics, foreign languages). Sophomores would pursue orientation units emphasising wider human interests.<sup>21</sup>

By 1938 Wood felt his ideas were best suited to a private college.

He identified three types of junior colleges each with a definite purpose:

1. The local public junior college which had to accommodate large numbers of deprived youths.
2. Junior colleges fostered by a university which would have a dominant professional aim, and would therefore prepare students for entry into higher education courses.
3. A junior college embracing frankly the theory of general education.<sup>22</sup>

Robert M. Hutchins, the President of the University of Chicago in 1929 took the position that general education should be for all. He believed that the junior college curriculum should not be different from the curriculum offered to students preparing to go to university, and was strongly committed to intellectual studies rather than practical training in junior college education. In this respect he parted company with junior college leaders, but was never very active in the general ideological campaign on this issue.<sup>23</sup>

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20. Ibid. p.115.

21. Ibid. p.127.

22. Wood, James M. "The Junior College and General Education", Bulletin of the Department of Secondary School Principals, XXII, May 1938 pp.22-23, cited by Goodwin, p.129.

23. Goodman.op.cit. p.131.



Goodwin uses Hutchins to illustrate the growing confusion in ideological commitment within the movement. He quotes him as follows - "It is not clear what the junior college is. In many places it seems to be a continuation of high school. In others it looks like an imitation of the first two years at the State University, which is usually the weakest section of the curriculum of that institution. Since 50% of its students leave it every year, the junior college has difficulty in constructing a coherent programme. It is, therefore, ambiguous in aim and unsatisfactory in organisation."

and again -

"With notable exceptions the junior college has so far done only a negative job. It has kept young people from going places and doing things that would have been worse for them. It has supplied an institution where they could pass the time in relatively harmless pursuits until they could go to work. When boys and girls cannot get jobs, cannot afford to go away to college, the junior college is indispensable." <sup>24</sup>

Despite the commitment of the major spokesmen to the terminal function of the junior college, studies conducted by MacDowell in 1917, Koos in 1925, Campbell in 1930, Eells in 1931 and Colvert in 1937 indicted the junior colleges for neglecting the terminal function in favour of preparatory studies. <sup>25</sup>

#### Selectivity and Guidance

Koos labelled the selection and guidance processes "the democratising function". An essential component would be a sympathetic concern

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24. Hutchins, Robert M. No Friendly Voice, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1936, p.109, cited by Goodwin, p.134, and, by the same author, "The Junior College", Educational Record XIX, January 1938, p.5., cited by Goodwin, p.134.

25. See:- MacDowell, F.M. The Junior College, U.S.Bureau of Education Bulletin No.35, Washington D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1919. p.52. Koos, The Junior College Movement, p.33. Campbell, Doak S. "A Critical Study of the Stated Purposes of the Junior College", Contributions to Education No.70, Nashville, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1930, p.83. Eells, Walter Crosby. The Community College, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931, pp.525-529. Colvert, C.C. The Public Junior College Curriculum, Louisiana State University, Studies No.38 Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press 1939, p.40. All cited by Goodwin, p.143.

for the less intelligent. He saw it as important that the junior colleges ensure that their less intelligent students avoid having to face ruthless elimination within universities. He and Eells had great faith in intelligence testing, using the scientific processes proposed by psychologists such as G. Stanley Hall, Edward L. Thorndike and Lewis M. Terman. By 1941 Eells felt there was a need to emphasise guidance as well as intelligence testing. He was aware that intelligence testing alone would not replace curricula requirements as laid down for entrance to universities. Nor would it convince students of their own abilities.<sup>26</sup>

However Goodwin points out that "community-junior" college leaders still tended to discuss guidance less in terms of personal development and more in terms of developing "appropriate" educational and vocational goals. The psychologically oriented concerns of the progressive educational movement in the 1920s and 1930s with their emphasis on child-centered individualistic programs was only a minor theme.<sup>27</sup>

#### Adult Education and Community Service

Goodwin identifies the beginnings of adult education and community service functions in the "community-junior" college movement in the 1920s and 1930s. However, they remained minor items until after World War II when the term "community college" came into being.

#### Summary of Period up to World War II

"Despite the ideological consensus reached by the spokesmen on the need to promote more terminal education ..... students who attended 'junior-community' colleges throughout the period (and indeed after) continued to enrol at a ratio of 2:1 in university programs. The percentage of students actually transferring onto four year colleges and universities remained quite constant too, varying slightly from 50% of the number enrolling in transfer curricula".<sup>28</sup>

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26. Goodwin. op.cit. pp.162-164.

27. Ibid. p.168.

28. Ibid. pp.187-188.

## Developments After World War II

### General Survey.

From the end of World War II until very recently the rate of increase of enrolments in junior and community colleges has been very dramatic. By 1970 over 1,000 institutions from all 50 states enrolled nearly 2½ million students - more than the total of all freshmen and sophomores enrolling in 4 year colleges and universities.<sup>29</sup>

In 1971 Medsker calculated that less than one-fifth of all undergraduates were in community colleges in 1955, but that given the rate of increase at the time the expected fraction was to be over one third by 1980.<sup>30</sup> The U.S. Office of Education in the Fall of 1969 reported that 47% part-time and adult students in America were in community junior colleges.<sup>31</sup> Majors indicated that by the Fall of 1975 more than 1,200 private and public junior or community colleges had opened for classes and were enrolling nearly 4 million students.<sup>32</sup>

As these colleges grew in number and size, the set of functions ascribed to them began to grow - transfer, terminal, general education; adult education, community service; the remedial or salvage function; student personnel services, etc. The junior colleges developed an "identity crisis" many of which sought solution by changing their names to community colleges. They hoped the new title would convey the sense of being more comprehensive.

Goodwin speculates that the community-junior college movement may also have started to suffer from bureaucratisation with emphasis on perpetuation of certain activities and the reinforcing of the value of routine functions. He describes the growing list of functions of comprehensive community college as "spiritless".

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29. Directory of the American Association of Junior Colleges, 1971, p.6, cited by Goodwin, p.189.

30. Medsker and Tillery. Breaking the Access Barriers, p.16.

31. Martorana. "Community - Junior Colleges in the United States" in Short Cycle Higher Education, p.140.

32. Majors, William R. "Community College Faculty: Unwanted Stepchild or accepted Members of the Academic Family?" History Teacher, 9, 4, Aug.1976, pp.575-587.

Discussions amongst community college spokesmen have tended to centre on the old problem of too few terminal and too many transfer students, and the importance of more vocational education and more effective guidance.<sup>33</sup> Immediately after World War II Americans were concerned to strengthen their democratic republic in the face of competitive international communism. In 1950, Jessie P. Bogue, the then Executive Director of the American Association of Junior Colleges exhorted the college to "revitalise the physical, mental and moral qualities of youth" in an attempt to meet this challenge.<sup>34</sup> Some sought salvation through general education. Goodwin quotes 1945 Harvard Committee which called for national attention to the need for such general education.<sup>35</sup> Two years later the President's Commission on Higher Education called for a special role for the junior college which it thought should be called the community college, namely the transmission of unified general education and the promotion of a common citizenship.<sup>36</sup>

A study in 1946 by James Reynolds however concluded that only 5-10% of junior college programmes gave much emphasis to general education.<sup>37</sup>

As with terminal education in the 1920s and 1930s performance did not match rhetoric. Students still tended to pursue transfer programmes while college leaders talked in terms of programmes to satisfy the needs of society.

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33. Goodwin. History of the Community-Junior College Ideology, pp.191-193.

34. Bogue, Jessie.P. The Community College, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co, 1950, cited by Goodwin, Community College Frontiers, p.11.

35. General Education in a Free Society: Report of the Harvard Committee, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1945, cited by Goodwin, Community College Frontiers, P.10

36. President's Commission on Higher Education, Higher Education in American Democracy, Vol.1: Establishing the Goals, Washington, D.C. 1947, pp.48-49, cited by Goodwin, Community College Frontiers, p.10.

37. Reynolds, W.James, "General Education in Public Junior Colleges", Junior College Journal, XVI, March, 1946, pp.308-319, cited by Goodwin, Community College Frontiers, p.10.

The 1960s saw greater emphasis being given to the vocational and technical components of terminal and transfer programmes at the expense of general education.

Despite some evidence that this bias was viewed with alarm by some <sup>38</sup> including teaching staff influenced by educational ideas derived from their own experience as higher education students.<sup>39</sup> Reynolds findings in 1946 essentially held true in later years. For example the State of California mandated a minimum of 15 general education units for the Associate in Arts Degree or the Associate in Science Degree, but it appears a student may satisfy three or six of the required units through introductory courses to specialised courses of study. It is quite common for many one year programmes to have no general education requirements at all.<sup>40</sup>

The 1970s has seen increasing attention being given by community college spokesmen such as Harlacher and Gleazer, the current Executive Director of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) - the renamed AAJC - to the community service function as a desirable over-riding philosophy for the colleges which presumably would end their "identity crisis" as well as boost enrolments.

Goodwin failed to include an analysis of the possible implications of this very recent development in his study of the ideology of the colleges - perhaps because he published his thesis in 1973 when Gleazer had not yet begun active and public promotion of the idea.

His overall assessment of the "mission" of the community-junior college movement remained highly critical throughout his research. For him the "mission has a dual nature serving some students in the best of democratic traditions but consigning others to lowly rungs in society.

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38. See:- Collins, C.C. and Collins J.J. The Case for the Community College: A Critical Appraisal of Philosophy and Function, E.I.Cajon, California, published by the authors, 1966. cited by Goodwin, p.278.  
Cohen, Arthur M. and Associates, A Constant Variable, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Inc., 1971, pp.128-129, cited by Goodwin, p.275.

39. Goodwin. History of the Community-Junior College Ideology, p.275.

40. Ibid. p.279.

He argues that the mission has been nourished from two sources, one emanating from elite industrial managers interested in structuring society to fit their economic designs, and the other coming from the masses seeking greater opportunities for social advancement.

He felt that the community college should become more critical of the society in which it operates:- "We cannot ignore the type of society in which we live nor the needs of our economic system, but we can and should understand that our mission is to do far more than simply channel students into the social and economic slots someone else may have determined appropriate for them." 41

#### The "Open Door" Policy And "The Cooling-Out" Function

Despite success in terms of rapid grants and national recognition, the commitment of the community and junior colleges to their much-acclaimed open admissions policy into all its educational ramifications came under increasingly critical scrutiny.

Leland L. Medsker undertook a comprehensive study of the nation's junior college in the late 1950s. He was interested in terminal students, and found that nearly half of the sample he studied became drop-outs. However, he defended the junior colleges by pointing out that drop-out rates among students of senior institutions were very similar. He advocated better guidance programmes to make it easier for students to be placed into appropriate educational channels. 42

An essential contradiction was evident however. Students were coming in numbers to the junior colleges in the hope of subsequently transferring to higher educational institutions. Most community-junior college leaders on the other hand continued to see their role in part as "one of guarding the narrow gates of advancement". 43 Drop-out rates began to be viewed as the outcome of this contradiction and the main indication that "open door" policies were not as successful as some were claiming.

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41. Goodwin. Community College Frontiers, p.13.

42. Medsker, Leland L. The Junior College: Progress and Prospect, New York McCraw Hill Book Co., 1960, cited by Goodwin, Community College Frontiers, p.11.

43. Goodwin. op.cit p.11.

In the 1960s a few studies pointed out sharply this particular contradiction. Burton R. Clarke referred to this guardianship as the "cooling out function". He regarded the role of counselling and guidance as a sophisticated means of lowering student aspirations. He argued that the public junior college has two important roles - extending educational opportunity beyond high school to the academically less competent and acting as a covert selection or screening agent for other higher educational institutions, particularly 4 year colleges and the universities.. The second role does not lend itself to open public definition as it suggests that the public junior college is for the less academically able.

Junior colleges, according to Clarke, are seen as one way of "cooling out" the incompetent. The only other alternative is for state colleges and universities to have open admissions and weed out the weaker students in the first year.

The "cooling-out" process involves encouragement of such students, mainly through counselling, guidance and testing techniques, to switch from academic transfer to terminal programmes. Heavy drop-out rates amongst this group which Clarke called "latent terminals" by implication are indications that "cooling-out" is in fact being too successful.

"Latent terminals" are the majority of junior and community college students - a fact that Clarke felt should be publicly acknowledged by the colleges and accepted as their main educational challenge.<sup>44</sup>

Similarly in 1968 Jencks and Riesman maintained that the community college acted as a "safety valve" for 4 year colleges and universities, allowing public officials to claim that they were advancing democracy and satisfying the demands of the masses for higher education.<sup>45</sup>

Jerry M. Katz argued the institutions operated sufficient entrance barriers to the lower classes to make the much vaunted "open door"

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44. Clark, Burton R. The Open Door College, Centre for the Study of Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, McGraw Hill Book Co. Inc., 1960, pp.157-162.

45. Jencks, Christopher and Reisman, David. The Academic Revolution, New York, Doubleday and Co., 1968, cited by Goodwin, Community College Frontiers, p.11.

characteristic of the community or junior college a misnomer. At the same time these institutions safeguard the low ability children of the middle classes from downward mobility. He concluded that talk of assisting the terminal student is rhetoric which acts as a device ensuring no real change in social stratification or will occur which is to the detriment of the middle classes.<sup>46</sup>

William Moore Jr., a black administrator attacked the colleges for designing and operating a curriculum with an unfair number of barriers for those he called "high risk students". He particularly attacked testing measures and remedial programmes.<sup>47</sup>

Jerome Karabel also discounted the claim that community-junior colleges have extended benefits to middle and lower classes. He points out that high school diplomas and college degrees have become less valuable as they have become more available. He also argues that only minimal changes in stratification have occurred in the U.S.A. despite massive expansion of the educational system.<sup>48</sup>

Dorothy Knoell has attempted to refute the accusation that junior and community colleges maintain social stratification by "cooling out" surplus students. She argued in 1966 that "considerably more research on accomplishments of non-transfers while in junior colleges and after leaving still needs to be done to find out whether they became drop-outs in the sense of a loss to society, or whether they were in fact terminal students who gained useful skills and general education while in college".<sup>49</sup>

In 1967 Medsker completed a study of attitudes held by nearly

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46. Katz, Jerry M. "The Educational Shibboleth: Equality of Opportunity in a Democratic Institution, The Public Junior College, unpublished Phd dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1967, p.15, cited by Goodwin, p.267.

47. Moore, William Jr., Against the Odds, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Inc., 1970, cited by Goodwin, p.280.

48. Karabel, Jerome. "Community Colleges and Social Stratification", Harvard Educational Review, XLII, November 1972, pp.522-562, cited by Goodwin, p.268.

49. Knoell, Dorothy. "A Critical Review of Research on the College Drop-out" in The College Drop-Out, and the Utilisation of Talent, edited by Pervin L.A., Reik L.E., and Dalrymple W., Princeton University Press, 1966, p.80, cited by Goodwin, p.269.



4,000 staff members in 57 randomly selected 82 community colleges. Its findings raised serious doubts about the commitment of college staff to the ideals of the community college and tended to support the critics of "open-door" policies. Just over 44% indicated a preference for being employed in a 4 year college or a university rather than a community college itself. This group tended to oppose occupational and remedial programmes. Responses also revealed a tendency to favour the more traditional aspects of community colleges, particularly transfer-programmes and the standard two-year technical curricula. Less conventional programmes tended to be questioned more severely. For example about one half of the respondents thought that remedial courses were essential, but one third thought they should be optional, and almost 16% said they were inappropriate. These attitudes on remedial education were held despite the findings of Collins and Collins that about 30-50% of students entering community colleges need further development of basic skills. This percentage held for those students aiming for transfer to higher educational institutions as well as for those concerned with bettering their employment prospects.<sup>50</sup> More recent studies - by David C. Bushnell in 1971 and Richard Peterson in 1972 - also suggest the commitment of community college professional staff to egalitarianism is not as strong as it should be.<sup>51</sup>

Medsker also found the grading system used by a community college teaching staff to be destructive. The progress of remedial students was frequently measured against the standards of courses for which they may not have been seeking admission.

He did note however that experiments were occurring with "non-punitive grading" systems in which there are no clear cut grades of failure

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50. Medsker and Tillery. Breaking the Access Barriers.

51. Peterson, Richard. - Administered the "Educational Testing Service's Institutional Goal Inventory" to 116 colleges in California in 1972. Bushnell, David. Conducted a similar study for the AACJC's Project Focus. His findings indicated that faculty perceived egalitarian goals as being ranked second by community colleges in a list of 12 institutional goals, but felt that they should be lowered to seventh. Both studies cited by Myran, Dr. Gunder A. "Community-Based Education: Priorities and Alternative Futures in the Community college", in College Perspective '75: New Thrusts - New Musts, Proceedings: Sixth Annual International Institute of the Community College, Lambton College, Sarnia, Ontario, Canada, June 9-12, 1975.

and quoted Cross, who found that 80% of colleges had special provision for students who do not meet traditional academic requirements.<sup>52</sup>

In the early 1970s, Goodrich, Lexotte and Welch (1973) and Marie Y. Martin (1974) noted that the numbers of enrolments of members of ethnic minorities and older people in community colleges were rising rapidly, though still low as a proportional percentage of the entire population.<sup>53</sup>

Cross referred to this group as the "New Students" which has different educational needs from the "traditional" student.

Though less concerned with the implications of the "cooling-out" function, she felt that the "open-door" policy of the College was too biased to the needs of the "traditional student". She argued - "To date we have concentrated on making New Students over into the image of traditional students so that they can be served by traditional education. Our concern has been the creation of access models to education. We have devised all kinds of ways to make New Students eligible to participate in traditional higher education. Remedial courses are designed to remove academic 'deficiencies'; counselling removes motivational 'deficiencies'; financial aid removed financial 'deficiencies'. However, if the answer to the question 'who should go to college' is to be an egalitarian response of 'everyone', then educational systems will have to be designed to fit the learning needs of New Students." <sup>54</sup>.

Though not specifically dealing with the "New Student", Donald Feldstein's study comparing the performances of community college students

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52. Cross, K.P. (Unpublished) Study of Community Colleges; Programmes for Poorly Prepared Students, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, Berkeley, 1970, cited by Medsker, Breaking the Access Barrier, p.65.

53. See - Goodrich, Andrew, Lexotte Lawrence, and Welch James, "Minorities in Two-Year Colleges", Community and Junior College Journal, XLII, Dec.1972/Jan.1973, pp.28-31, cited by Goodwin p.280. Martin, Y.Marie. "Recent Trends in Community College Occupational Education", Community College Review, 11,4, Winter 1974. pp.29-34, (particularly pp.31-32.).

54. Cross, K.P. Beyond The Open Door: New Students to Higher Education, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Inc., 1971, pp.4-5. cited by Goodwin p.266.

with and without high school graduation is relevant as it suggests that maturation and motivation can be more significant in predicting academic success than high school diplomas. He looked at the academic records of some 32,000 students in 5 community colleges with an "open-door" policy in 1970 and 1971. He was particularly interested in 7% of the students (just over 2,200) who had no high school diploma. He reported that none of them had been subject to any remedial program aimed at high school drop-outs or had been segregated into separate sections. He assumed that as they were a small enough minority in all five schools one would not expect that curriculum had been changed or been modified or lowered to meet their demands. He compared their academic performance with that of the high school graduates in their classes and found no significant difference between them. If anything the evidence suggested that non-high school graduates did slightly better than high school graduates.

In examining the possible reasons for this he concluded that a maturation factor improves performance:-

".....there appears to be a maturation gap between poor and good performance - a gap which is traditionally made up by high school graduates with age, marriage and military service, but which is partially made up by the non-high school graduates by work, whatever they participated in, between dropping out of high school and deciding to enter college."

Secondly non-high school graduates probably do well because "they are also a motivated group; each had to make a conscious decision to continue his/her education in contrast to a number of high school graduates who continued because it was the thing to do ....."

Feldstein concedes there is obviously "some threshold knowledge - a certain degree of literacy and sophistication - that is necessary for college success" but he feels that much of the high school curriculum may not be necessary for this threshold .<sup>55</sup>

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55. Feldstein, Donald. "Who Needs High School?" Social Policy, 5, 1, May-June 1974, pp.20-23.

However, given this limitation, the importance of his findings is that it suggests that older students who tend to be more mature and better motivated could in fact help to make the "open-door" policy work more effectively.

Perhaps older students will need less counselling and guidance than the "traditional" younger student. If that is true, Clarke's "cooling out" function would become less important as far as the college is concerned. In a sense the "cooling out" of those with high aspirations but inadequate academic ability will have begun before such students consider enrolling in an academic transfer programme of a community College.

#### The Promotion of Vocational Training in the 1960s

Following the launching of Sputnik I by Russia, America paid more earnest attention on vocational training. Public junior colleges responded to the demand for increased technological and less general education.

Federal funds business oriented boards of trustees, and private foundations such as the W.K.Kellogg Foundation strongly encouraged this trend.<sup>56</sup>

The Federal 1972 Higher Education Act authorised an expenditure of \$85 million over a three year period for post-secondary occupational education. Post-secondary education was defined as - "Education, training, or re-training .... conducted by an institution .... which is designed to prepare individuals for gainful employment as semi-skilled or skilled workers or technicians or sub-professions in recognised occupations (including new and emerging occupations) .... but excluding any program to prepare individuals for employment in occupations .... to be generally considered professional or which require a baccalaureate or advanced degree".<sup>57</sup> It was noticeable that transfer oriented programs were not eligible for financial support under this Act.

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56. Goodwin. Community College Frontiers, p.12, and History of the Community-Junior College Ideology, p.273.

57. Karabel. Harvard Educational Review, p.545, cited by Goodwin, p.274.

However in 1973 Gleazer reported that students in many community colleges were rejecting occupational education in greater numbers. Predominantly they preferred to enrol for a year or two in a program described as academic and which could lead to transfer to a university. He referred to one institution where 60% of the facilities had been designed for occupational educational programmes which subsequently attracted only 25% of student enrolment.

He believed that the main reason for their preference is that vocational and technical education has lower public status than academic programmes which can lead to a university degree.

Other factors, though secondary, appear to compound the situation. Vocational schools are seen by some as punitive institutions. They are often viewed as an alternative form of compulsory education for students dropping out of high school before the age of 18.

The lack of options in vocational education is another factor inhibiting broad popular acceptance. If a student enters a course in automotive technology, nursing or law enforcement, specialisation begins early. In lower division transfer courses, students can engage in academic exploration and the pressures for decision making are not as early or insistent. Gleazer concluded that there are a large number of undecided students in transfer programmes.<sup>58</sup>

The most popular career programs tended to be those which required rigorous entrance standards and which carried considerable social status such as nursing, data processing and electronics. Even when college students are prepared to forfeit transfer programmes in favour of terminal vocational programmes, the pattern of students exhibiting aspirations beyond their abilities came to the forefront.

Goodwin quoted a study conducted in 1974 by the Centre for Research and Development in Higher Education at the University of California, Berkeley, which showed that 80% of the graduates of private

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58. Gleazer, Edmund J. Project Focus: A Forecast Study of Community Colleges, McCraw Hill Book Co., 1973, p.108.

and public post-secondary professional and technical vocational programmes did not find employment at the level of their training, and that graduates of 4-year colleges and universities obtained better jobs and earned more money.

He concluded that community colleges should make greater efforts to match programmes with jobs, and pointed out that there is still the suspicion that the community colleges are doing a better job of lowering aspirations than of elevating the masses.<sup>59</sup>

### The Promotion and Development of the Community Service Function

In 1960 Medsker reported 219 (90%) of 243 community colleges included in his 1956 study indicated they were performing a wide variety of "the unusual services that make an institution a community college".<sup>60</sup>

However, Medsker concluded that these services were not performed regularly in many instances.

In 1964 Harlacher examined the catalogues of 69 Californian public junior colleges. He found 40 (58%) claimed community service as a major function. Ten included it under a related function (usually adult education).<sup>61</sup>

In the same year later on he made a study of 71 Californian public junior colleges and found "70% provided community use of facilities, cultural programmes, campus conferences, public affairs, lectures, speakers' bureaux, short courses, community recreation, campus tours and special events".<sup>62</sup>

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59. Goodwin. Community College Frontiers, pp.12-13. (The study cited by Goodwin was reported by William Trombley in the Los Angeles Times, Nov.25, 1974.).

60. Medsker. The Junior College: Progress and Prospect, p.79, cited by Harlacher, The Community Dimension of the Community College, p.16  
 Note: All other references cited by Harlacher, The Community, Dimension of the Community College, will be referred to as "cited by Harlacher" followed by the page number.

61. Harlacher, Ervin L. A study of the Community Services Function in California's Public Junior Colleges, Norwalk, California, Ceritos College, April 1964, p.17, cited by Harlacher, p.17.

62. Harlacher, Ervin L. "California's Community Renaissance" Junior College Journal XXXIV, May 1964, cited by Harlacher, p.17.

Studies in the later 60s confirmed that there was growing interest in community services.

In 1966-67 a survey was prepared by the Californian Junior College Association's Committee on Community Services. 51 out of 66 college districts responded (77%). These operated 60 campuses. Information was elicited concerning the administration of and types and frequency of community service offerings. Of 60 campuses, 41 had at least one person assigned full-time to administer community services, 12 anticipated the addition of a full-time administrator the following year. Of 56 districts, 46 levied part or all of a special local tax for community services permitted under Californian law (known as the "five-cent community services tax").

The survey also noted that "on all campuses the total effort seemed to be towards expansion and development of new programmes to match currently successful ones".<sup>63</sup>

In 1967 Harlacher noted that adult education and community service functions were increasingly being administered separately. Of 37 community college districts he visited, only 11 did not provide for the separate administration of the two programmes. He emphasised that "in most community colleges, the number of persons served by the programme of community services exceeds vastly the number served through the regular transfer and occupational programmes for youth and adults. As an example, a Californian community college reported that total attendance in the programme of community services for the year was in excess of 200,000, while day and evening enrolments in the college totalled 12,000".<sup>64</sup> Harlacher argued these findings were consistent with the national picture found in a nation-wide survey in 1965. Another survey in 1967 of community colleges that claimed community services as a major

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63. Harlacher, Ervin L. Survey Report Proposed by the Californian Junior College Association's Committee on Community Services, (unpublished report based on a study of 51 junior college districts), Californian Junior College Association, Sacramento, California, 1967, cited by Harlacher, p.17.

64. Harlacher. The Community Dimension of the Community College, pp.13-14.

function, to which 99 responded (88 public and 11 private), found that the 28 categories of community services reported fell in four major areas:

1. Community use of college facilities.
2. Community education services.
3. Cultural and recreational activities.
4. Institutional development.

96% of the respondents claimed inclusion of all four objectives in their programmes of community services. <sup>65</sup>

Harlacher concluded that the reason for the slow and late emergence of community services as a function equal to other major functions such as transfer, occupational, counselling and guidance, and general education, were twofold:

1. Community services are viewed as an amplification of standard functions, not a separate one.
2. The community college has an inferiority complex which tends to make it look towards four year colleges as a model.

He highlighted the following major problems as issues involved in the upgrading of the community service function:

1. The lack of public understanding of community services.
2. The need to secure the support of boards of trustees which sometimes regard community services as a watering down of academic offerings.
3. The need for co-ordination of services with other community and regional groups.
4. The identification of community needs and interests.
5. The planning and evaluation of these programmes.
6. The development of a programme philosophy and an identification of objectives.
7. The administration and supervision of the programmes.
8. The need for adequate resources.

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65. Harlacher, Ervin L. Effective Junior College Programmes of Community Services: Rational, Guidelines, Practices, Occasional Report No.10, Junior College Leadership Programme, Los Angeles, School of Education, University of California, 1967, cited by author, p.18.



Regarding administration he emphasised the need for centralisation "in a single administrator whose staff and budget are sufficient to provide the necessary freedom and support for developing a strong programme".

On resources he pointed to the problem of funding and the amount of the fee to be paid, particularly given budgetary restraint and the tendency to curtail "free" programmes. In these circumstances credit programmes tend to take precedence. He also points out that in addition to state support for adult education, California uniquely among 50 states also permits a local district maintaining a community college to increase its maximum tax rate by 5 cents per \$100 of assessed valuation for community services purposes.<sup>66</sup>

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66. Harlacher. op.cit. pp.46-66.

## CHAPTER 4

### FINANCE

Property taxation is regarded by many commentators as an important factor in ensuring local orientation of community colleges.

Gleazer points out that for many community college administrators the local property tax which often requires a vote of the citizens is something close and concrete compared to the more nebulous taxes.

In his study "Project Focus" conducted in 1913 he found that local tax-payers while declaring support for community colleges were increasingly voting against levies for the operating costs of the institutions as well as for new facilities. They were protesting more against mounting taxes from all levels of government.

He also speculated that rising costs may lead to limitations of enrolments and restriction of the open-door policy.<sup>1</sup> In these circumstances there was a temptation to go increasingly towards the university-parallel or transfer courses and the less costly students. He quoted one "fairly typical community college" where in 1973 the cost per student for transfer work was about \$825 per year; for vocational-technical programmes about \$1,200. The latter figure did not count the higher equipment costs for the vocational - technical programmes.

Goodwin noted that federal aid has been a very significant factor enabling junior and community colleges to develop and maintain expensive vocational programmes over a long period.<sup>2</sup>

It would appear therefore that, without funding of this kind in addition to the funding from state governments and private foundations, community and junior colleges would find it very difficult to regularly

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1. Gleazer. Project Focus, pp.157-158.

2. Goodwin. A History of the Community-Junior College Ideology, p.273.

maintain technical and vocational programmes. As well as increasing resistance to more property taxes, there have been legal rulings in California, Minnesota, Texas and New Jersey against the states ability to use local property taxes beyond a certain level for schools. Supreme Court rulings in California, Minnesota, Texas and New Jersey have held that property tax systems discriminate against children who happen to live in poor districts. School districts will therefore be required to find some equalisation scheme which will diminish the importance of the property tax. Gleazer reported that many "in the field saw a crisis looming" and that salvation was being sought through increased state and Federal funding of the colleges.<sup>3</sup>

A special report on "The Financial State of Higher Education", however, suggested that the larger public community colleges were financially the "healthiest" of all higher educational institutions.

The cost experiences of over 2000 institutions were analysed with the following general findings -

1. Almost one half of all academic institutions could be considered to be in an "unhealthy" condition.
2. Public two-year community colleges were found to be the "healthiest", while only 11.7% of 4-year undergraduate colleges fell into "healthy" categories.
3. Greater size is a major contributing factor to financial "health".
4. The condition of most private colleges and universities was dramatically worse than the public supported institutions.

Many of the private institutions considered "unhealthy" were in relatively isolated locations. They could not effectively compete for "non-traditional" students - the new source of enrolments according to many commentators. They tend to focus on traditional liberal arts curriculum and are unable to afford the high costs for faculty and equipment for occupational programmes which are increasingly becoming more popular.

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3. Gleazer. op.cit. p.161.

The authors point out though, that despite the fact most public institutions are in "healthy" condition, 13.5% of those studied already fell into the bottom two "unhealthy" categories. They speculated that the general tightening of state budgets was beginning to have an impact and implied more public institutions could fall in the financial "unhealthy" categories. The expansion of expensive remedial programmes aimed at providing equal educational opportunity for all admitted, and the continued limitations placed on public institutions in their search for non-state funds were also named as factors contributing to a deteriorating situation.

On the question of size they found that large institutions benefited from certain economies of scale, enjoyed more budgetary flexibility, and had a greater financial margin that enabled them to withstand short term trends. They also were able to offer a curriculum and a faculty attractive to the consumer of educational services.<sup>4</sup>

The Californian Post-Secondary Education Commission in its five year plan for 1976-1981 highlights the impact of these financial difficulties.

In an assessment of the future of post-secondary education in California it made a series of assumptions, some of them financial -

1. The state will continue to support post-secondary education out of General Fund appropriations but the demand for other state services will limit funds available. "There will be continued pressure to reduce institutional expenses". The students share of the costs will rise.
2. Increases in costs to students will lead to even greater demands for state and federal aid and tuition assistance programmes. These costs will affect student participation rates.
3. Financial support for the under-privileged, both economically and culturally, will continue.
4. Given continuing high inflation the costs of running independent colleges and universities will continue to rise. As their tuition fees inevitably increase, they too will request more financial help

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4. Lupton, Andrew H., Augenblick, John, and Heyison, Joseph. "The Financial State of Higher Education", Change, 8, 8, September 1976, pp.20-35.

from the State and Federal governments, and, consequently will need to be more effectively involved in state-wide planning.<sup>5</sup>

To summarise -

1. State and federal funding is becoming increasingly important for all public junior and community colleges, particularly for those colleges traditionally supported in the main out of local property taxes.
2. Technical and vocational programmes requiring expensive capital outlay have been and will continue to be considerably dependent on federal funding.
3. Students fees in both public and private junior and community colleges will continue to rise.
4. The larger, more comprehensive community colleges are more likely to be financially "healthy" than the smaller junior or community colleges, both public and private.
5. Commitments to extending remedial educational programmes for reasons of educational policy and proving financially expensive. However, California, for example, is determined to maintain that commitment in the five-year plan for 1976-1981.

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5. A Five-Year Plan for Post-Secondary Education in California, 1976-1981, California Post-Secondary Education Commission, Sacramento, December, 1975, pp.20-21.

## CHAPTER 5

### PATTERNS OF CONTROL AND GOVERNANCE

#### Patterns of Control

Medsker and Tillery point out that from the beginning community colleges were an integral part of the public school systems.

In 1917 legislation was introduced in California for separate districts to be organised solely for the purpose of maintaining community colleges. This departure from the then normal has since become the dominant pattern. However, there are many authorities who still look on community colleges as an integral part of the secondary school system.

Overall responsibility for the community colleges tends either to be shared between local and state government or lies almost entirely with the state. In some states both patterns of overall control exist.

A third, more minor pattern, is the two-year branch maintained by a major university which is classified as a community college.

Where the control is shared with local government, the state's function is performed either by a separate board for community colleges or by a board responsible for higher education with community colleges being considered a component part. In a system involving state control only, community colleges are under a separate board, or a board responsible for higher education again with a sub-unit responsible for community colleges, or the state board of education and/or the department of public instruction.<sup>1</sup>

State controlled colleges are governed by a board which represents the state in the legal sense and not a given sub section or region of the state. Board members normally are appointed by the governor (e.g. Virginia, Massachusetts, Minnesota and Oklahoma).

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1. Medsker and Tillery. Breaking the Access Barriers, p.99.

In the case of community colleges controlled by local government, the governing boards tend to take two forms -

- (i) the unified district where the board of trustees is responsible for the junior college and lower public schools,
- (ii) local boards responsible only for the junior college district.

The unified district structure prevailed during early years of the movement. The trend has shifted to placing these colleges either within separate districts or under state-level control. For example Illinois, Michigan and Iowa have revamped laws to permit colleges, formerly under unified district control, to separate from the secondary sector and be placed within new districts and governed under their own boards of trustees.<sup>2</sup>

There is also a widely recognised trend towards greater state control. However even in states where there is no legal controlling local board - Colorado, Massachusetts, and Virginia for example - the retention of local initiative has been helped by strong local advisory committees with responsibility for making recommendations to both the college and the state board, and the involvement of college administration in faculty and state planning and policy making.<sup>3</sup>

California, is an interesting mixture of systems of control at the local or district level.

Henry F. Tyler describes four types of Californian Junior College district organisations, although historically in each a local governing body has been the responsible authority -

1. High school districts maintaining junior colleges.
2. Unified districts (i.e. kindergarten through to junior colleges).
3. Junior college districts having a common administration (i.e. the board of trustees and superintendent) with a high school or unified district.

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2. Martorana. Short Cycle Higher Education, pp.99-101.

3. Medsker and Tillery, loc.cit., and Martorana, loc.cit.

#### 4. Junior college districts having separate board of trustees.

The trend is towards the fourth type. Legislation in the five years up to 1966 ensured that only junior college districts could be authorised to maintain junior colleges.<sup>4</sup>

#### Internal Governance: General Administration

Medsker and Tillery conclude there is no common model for planning and implementation.

However, in the early 1970s there was a rapid development of community college districts which maintained two or more campuses or colleges under one governing board and a central administration. This has been particularly true in large cities.

Organisational and administrative problems arise in such districts over questions relating to centralisation and autonomy. They believe the trend is towards autonomy but tensions are evident.

They note that the historical affiliation with public schools (until recently) tended to promote conventional and conservative forms of governance. Since the identification with higher education has got underway, the traditional hierarchy has been modified to permit students and faculty to have a stronger voice in decision making.<sup>5</sup>

Richardson adds that attempts to graft forums and senates on to highly bureaucratic and hierarchical administrative structures have far more frequently resulted in the appearance rather than the substance of involvement.

He views the structure of administration as "largely Weberian". The president and the board occupy top rungs with students at the bottom. Unpopular decisions are enforced by the use of sanctions including loss of employment or expulsion, frequently without attention to due process. Conflict is suppressed rather than resolved. He believes faculty

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4. Tyler, Henry F. "Full Partners in California's Higher Education", in Junior Colleges: 50 States/50 Years, edited by Roger Yarrington, American Association of Junior Colleges, 1969 pp.161-169.

5. Medsker and Tillery. loc.cit.



and students have accepted the arrangement with varying degrees of apathy, primarily because they have known no other procedure, and because the directives enforced have been less repressive than previous experiences with public schools.

When there is an absence of a working consensus about a decision reached by the administrative structure, those who challenge the decision cease to be regarded as part of the administrative structure and tend to turn to the faculty association, or its counterpart for students, to represent their point of view.

The advent of collective bargaining in higher educational institutions introduces another alternative for the resolution of differences of opinions through external forces backed by legislation, court decrees or other forms of directive influence.

The consequences are undesirable. "Alliances of labor organizations and teachers have passed collective bargaining legislation patterned upon industrial experience. Board organisations have allied themselves with conservative taxpayers to support legislation mandating teaching loads and other conditions of employment. The growing number of court suits, labour relation board hearings and arguments taken to the public media have been time consuming, expensive and damaging to the image of educational enterprise as well as to the status of those associated with it regardless of their responsibilities." <sup>6</sup>

#### Internal Governance: Boards of Trustees

Board members are either elected or appointed. Individual members of elected boards may represent certain special interest groups - groups which may be ethnic, racial, religious, economic, social or political. The Board of Trustees is responsible for maintaining statutes, entering into legal contracts, appointing and dismissing personnel, promoting and ranking staff, setting fees and tuition, conferring degrees, authorising all expenditures, negotiating with labor unions, selecting

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6. Richardson, Richard C. "Governance and Change in the Community Junior Colleges", The Journal of Higher Education, 44, 1973, pp.299-308.

architects, approving the site, design and construction of buildings, and is held accountable when it refuses or is negligent in carrying out its charges. It is also the arbiter between the various components of the college and the liaison between the state and the college as well as the local community. By example the Board establishes the concept that equal emphasis be applied to all programmes of the college."

Junior college boards it is claimed, are more responsive to pressure groups due to the closeness of their colleges to people. If they are based in an inner-city area, for example, it is argued they tend to have fewer rich people, more women, more minorities and younger members. They also tend to come from the immediate locale. This has the advantage of helping to remedy the inequities but can lead towards parochialism.<sup>7</sup>

However, two studies by Rodney T. Hartnett on boards of trustees found that most board members are financially successful, male, white, protestant, over 40 years of age and view higher education as a privilege, not a right.<sup>8</sup>

Equally critical Charles C. Collins states: "thus described it sounds as if the community college boards are modelled after corporation boards; they are not obliged to represent their inarticulate consumers (students), or their employees (staff), or their management (administration), or even their small stockholders (tax paying parents)".<sup>9</sup>

Eric Ashby feels that trustees in the U.S. are in a false position, possessing a power they know they should not wield and chosen as trustees for reasons which are not always in the best interests of the institution. He recommended an evolutionary movement towards - bringing faculty and student representation on to board of trustees - arranging

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7. Moore, William. "The Community College Board of Trustees: The Question of Competency", The Journal of Higher Education, 44, 1973, pp.171-190.

8. Hartnett, Rodney T. (First Study) The New College Trustee: Some Predictions for the 1970s, Educational Testing Service 1970 (mimeographed), and (second study) College and University Trustees: Their Backgrounds, Roles and Educational Attitudes, Educational Testing Service, Princeton 1969. Both cited by Eric Ashby, Any Person, Any Study, pp.75-76.

9. Collins, Charles C. "A re-defined board for a re-defined Community", Junior College Journal, 41, March 1971, pp.102-106, cited by Moore, Journal of Higher Education.

that self-perpetuating trustees yield some of their places to members nominated from outside the boardroom, urging that trustees elected by popular ballot (as in Michigan) should be elected on their educational and not on their political qualifications.<sup>10</sup>

Gleazer also points out in his study "Project Focus" that though state legislatures may be limiting their powers, college boards are more likely to be forced to exercise whatever power remains to them. He states "Student dissent and protest plus community concerns about the tax dollar have resulted in mounting pressures on local board members. Also a number of educational matters are now adjudicated in the courts. The board as a legal entity for the institution is involved whether it wants to be or not".

He noted further that board members are predominantly inexperienced in community college affairs - "For example not until 1967 did the community colleges in the state of Washington have separate boards, distinct from high school district boards of education. In Illinois this process was facilitated by the Higher Education Act of 1965. Until 1969, Florida had county boards of education with community college advisory councils. In fact the identity of the community college board member has been established in a number of states not much more than five years ago. Add 200 to 300 new institutions recently established and the result is several hundred new trustees seeking to determine the suitable roles of the community college board as well as their own responsibilities as members." <sup>11</sup>

He found that state level community boards had been created in several states and felt that more would be set up. Local boards were tending to be apprehensive that this would mean decreasing community orientation and a weakening of the capacity to respond quickly and easily to local needs.

Another pattern was that in many metropolitan areas and other large community college districts, boards may carry responsibilities for

10. Ashby. Any Person, Any Study, pp. 75-76.

11. Gleazer. Project Focus p. 137.

several colleges or campuses. The advantages were the broadening of the financial and population base enabling a greater diversity of educational programmes to be developed, certain economies gained through central purchasing, financial administration, facility planning and computer operations. However the usual problem is left - the board and district administration tends to be perceived as too far removed from some of the communities.

Gleazer regarded this problem as likely to become more acute. He pointed out that approximately three-quarters of the community colleges recommended by the Carnegie Commission for establishment in the decade following 1973 would be in metropolitan areas.

He reported that faculty members were asking for more say in policy making. In some states this had already led to state legislative action. For example in California the establishment of faculty senates is now mandated. In Washington, Michigan, Pennsylvania and New York professional negotiation acts have been passed. In Washington faculty described the Act as granting them the right to organise and negotiate with the board of trustees on policy decisions. One disturbing trend, according to Gleazer, was that, in asking for a faculty load of no more than 12 student contact hours plus higher salaries, some professional unions were effectively determining what students could be served by the college and how they could be served. He reported that in some places counselling services, learning laboratories and community services had been cut back in order to meet the financial cost of the union contract. He pointed out, however, that only three of the 25 institutions he visited had a faculty union recognised for bargaining purposes.<sup>12</sup>

#### Future Governance Patterns

Professor Arthur M. Cohen believes that by the year 2000, "institutional governance will reveal several changes. Local governing

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12. Ibid. p.145.

boards will operate much as they do now but management will be a process of accommodation among contending forces. The last vestiges of paternalism will have disappeared under the press of employee-bargaining units. A core of functionaries and bureaucrats will have taken its place alongside the professional educators because state and federal level demands for data and information using cost accounting will have become even greater than they are at present. The colleges will not be managed by amateurs; the lower schools evidenced the difficulties of an institution's reverting to the citizenry once it has come under the management of professionals. "Community control will make few inroads."<sup>13</sup>

Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr. would not agree. His recent articles by implication stress strongly the need for community control.<sup>14</sup>

The over-production of post graduate degree holders in relation to the availability of academic teaching and research positions at this stage would appear to favour Cohen's thesis of growing professionalisation. In these circumstances it would be reasonable to assume that future administrative staff will probably have higher qualifications as well. Community control could be seen as a threat to their powers unless Gleazer and his supporters are able to promote vigorous campaigns to change attitudes, particularly the kind of staff attitudes reported by Medsker in 1967.<sup>15</sup> They will also have to propose new models for boards of trustees that overcome the weaknesses in current structures noted by Hartnett, Collins, Ashby and Gleazer himself.

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13. Cohen, Arthur M. "The Community College at the millenium", Community College Frontiers, 4, 3, 1976, pp.42-46.

14. See for example Gleazer, E.J. "What Now for the Community Colleges?" Community and Junior College Journal, and, by the same author "Beyond the Open Door, The Open College", Community and Junior College Journal, 3, 45, Aug/Sept. 1974, pp.6-12.

15. Medsker and Tillery. Breaking the Access Barriers, p.65.

## CHAPTER 6

### STATE MASTER PLANNING: MOVEMENT TOWARDS INTEGRATED SYSTEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

#### General Development

In 1960 California became the first American state to implement a fairly comprehensive master plan for its higher education sector.<sup>1</sup>

By 1969 Alan S. Hurburt reported that 19 states had similar educational plans in use or recommended. He found the major purposes of such plans are to -

- " show concern for the education of both adults and adolescents,
- define and organise a system of higher education instead of a group of institutions,
- meet both universal and diverse needs,
- outline a minimum foundation programme,
- help community self-assessment of educational needs,
- remove college development from local and political pressures,
- set priorities,
- ensure co-ordination of all higher education,
- provide a basis for further planning,
- disclose areas of needed research,
- encourage and facilitate the systematising of routine state services,
- encourage co-operative planning by both private and public schools,
- reveal inadequacies in current laws and prepare for new legislation,
- serve as a public relations instrument,
- bring together laymen and professional educators in a common endeavour."

One interesting consequence of master planning is that policy guidelines on the vexing question of minimum enrolment levels before proposed new community colleges are seen to be economically viable

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1. A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960-1975.

have tended to become more sharply defined, though the responses of the states to this problem varies considerably. In Massachusetts the minimum enrolment requirement for a new college is a full time enrolment (F.T.E.) of 300, with a two-year potential of 750 and a ten-year potential of 2,000. In Virginia, it is an F.T.E. of 400. New Hampshire requires 500. Texas, 500 by the end of three years and 1,000 by the end of five years. For Colorado the figure is 600, and for Illinois, Michigan and Ohio it is 1,000.

Nearly all master plans also specify that colleges must be within commuting distance of 85-100% of a designated community.<sup>2</sup>

#### The Question Of Local Autonomy Versus State Control

Dr. James L. Wattenbarger pointed out in 1968 the trend toward state control could not be reversed. He felt an accommodation between the advantages of local control and the need for more state control had to be sought.<sup>3</sup>

This problem was also recognised by Edward Cohen and N. Dean Evans who quoted the problem faced by New Jersey of providing the requisite state-wide planning while preserving the pluralism and institutional autonomy characteristic of American higher education.<sup>4</sup>

Clifford G. Erickson stated the case for simultaneous state planning (and co-ordination) and local autonomy (and control). He argued the trend towards state planning for higher education was occurring because of -

- the inadequacy of local planning to meet the needs of higher education,
- the rapid emergence of the community college as an integral part of higher education,

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2. Hurburt, Allan S. State Master Plans for Community Colleges, American Association of Junior Colleges, 1969, pp.1-25.

3. Wattenbarger, Dr. James (article title not given), Junior College Journal, May 1968, cited by Hurburt, State Master Plans, p.10.

4. Cohen, Edward and Evans, N. Dean (article title not given), Junior College Journal, Dec.1968/Jan.1969, cited by Hurburt, State Master Plans, pp.10-11.

- the recognition of state responsibility for sharing in financing of community colleges,
- expansion of federal funding with attendant state responsibilities,
- the developing awareness of educational planning, both state and regional as a part of public policy,
- the experience in several states where "master plans for higher Education have been developed which assign a unique and important role to the community college."<sup>5</sup>

Kermit C. Morrissey argued for state control because of changes in the American economy and the distribution of population which, in his opinion, raised the issue of control in a new way. He felt that local control of community colleges was less effective given greater population mobility and economic change.

He made the following points in support of state control -

- the entire system can become the planning unit and criteria can be set to ensure the optimum development of each college,
- the best use of available funds and resources is ensured,
- community colleges are freed from many local pressures, conflicts between boards and school operating heads, and pressure from a single group or industry,
- equality of educational opportunity can best be assured by a system of state control which establishes minimum standards in all schools and in all programmes. This applies to fiscal support as well as to the application of policy guidelines,
- the recruitment of professional personnel is facilitated,
- innovation is encouraged through direct communication between schools and the board,
- expensive and unnecessary programme duplication can be avoided.<sup>6</sup>

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5. Erickson, Clifford G. (article title not given), Junior College Journal, March 1969, cited by Hurburt, State Master Plans, p.11.

6. Morrissey, Kermit C. "An Alternative: State Control", Junior College Journal, 36, May 1968, pp.16-19, cited by Hurburt, State Master Plans, pp.11-12.



Hurburt points out that these arguments are more for state planning and co-ordination than for state operation and control of community colleges. California and Florida have state master plans, the implementation of which have been dependent on considerable state co-ordination but which at the same time have placed emphasis as much as possible on local control. The authority for developing new programmes lies with local governing boards and institutions, while the state is responsible for reasonably uniform quality controls and co-ordination.<sup>7</sup>

Given growing dependence on state and federal funding and the growing popularity of the concept of an integrated system of higher education implemented through a state master plan, local control of community colleges must be an ideal increasingly difficult to attain in new colleges and maintain in existing ones. Presumably the situation for the former is compounded by the lack of experience in community college affairs of their boards of trustees.<sup>8</sup>

Certainly Hurburt feels that the question of control is one of ten areas needing further research.<sup>9</sup>

#### Examples of Co-ordinative Machinery (with special emphasis on California)

Most states have co-ordinating councils or boards of higher education responsible for the general co-ordination of higher education.

Two unusual patterns are to be found in N. Carolina and Florida. In N. Carolina the State Board of Education, not the North Carolina State Board of Higher Education, administers the state system. It appoints an advisory council to advise it on matters of finance, personnel, curriculum and articulation which is composed of two members from the Higher Education Board, or from professional staff, and two from higher education institutions. The State Board of Education receives recommendations from both the Advisory Council and the Department of Community Colleges.

7. Hurburt. State Master Plans, p.12.

8. Gleazer. Project Focus, p.137.

9. Hurburt. op.cit. p.42.

In Florida the junior colleges are part of the county school systems and come under the county board. Each council has an advisory committee appointed by the State Board of Education on recommendations from the local boards. The State Junior College Board which is the co-ordinating agency for community colleges, makes recommendations to the State Board of Education.

The Council of Academic Affairs makes recommendations regarding academic matters of state-wide concern. The chief academic officers of junior colleges appointed by the presidents together with a director of academic affairs of the Division of Community Colleges are members of this council. The Council of Presidents makes recommendations regarding junior college matters.<sup>10</sup>

Prior to implementing America's first state master plan, California set up the Master Plan Survey Team which examined several problems as part of the master plan study. Amongst these were -

1. Predictions about enrolments by the year 1975, particularly concerning distribution among the higher educational institutions including junior colleges and private colleges, and admission requirements.
2. The differentiation of functions between junior colleges, state colleges and the University of California.
3. Priorities, time schedules, and possible locations for establishing new universities, state colleges and junior colleges.
4. Costs of public higher education in the decade ahead, including questions relating to the proportion of costs to be borne by the State, local districts, and students.
5. What plans should be recommended for organisation, control and administration of publicly supported higher education.<sup>11</sup>

Subsequently the Co-ordinating Council for Higher Education was set up as the machinery for co-ordination of the master plan.

It was composed of 15 persons - three each from the junior

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10. Ibid. p.32.

11. A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960-1975. p.23.

colleges, the state colleges, the university, independent institutions and the general public.

The Council was given an advisory function to review operating budgets and capital outlay requests, to interpret functional differentiation on programmes, to study new facilities and programmes, and to advise the Regents, the State College Trustees, the Governor, the Legislature and other appropriate state officials regarding the matter. It was given a Director and technical staff with the power to require data from the public institutions.<sup>12</sup>

One of its first actions was to advise on the implementation of the Survey Team's recommendations regarding enrolments and admission policies.

Reminiscent of the views of Harper, Jordan and Lange in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Team felt that state colleges and the University of California should emphasise divisional levels most appropriate to their defined functional responsibility - upper division and graduate students.

It recommended that the percentage of public high school graduates directly entering the University of California and the state colleges should be reduced from 15% and 50% respectively to  $12\frac{1}{2}$  and  $33\frac{1}{3}$ % respectively. It also recommended that admission requirements for students wishing to transfer from junior colleges should be tougher.

In 1973 the Co-ordinating Council for Higher Education was replaced by the California Post-Secondary Education Commission.

The Commission is broader in composition and has greater powers than the previous body, reflecting California's growing commitment to the planning of an integrated system of higher education.

It has 23 representatives - 12 representing the public; 6 representing the three public systems; 2 representing the independent colleges and universities; 1 representing the California Advisory Committee on Vocational Education and Technical Training; 1 representing the Council for Private Post-Secondary Education; and 1 the State Board of Education.

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12. Ibid. pp.38-40.

State funds for new campuses and off-campus centres cannot be released without the involvement of the Commission.

The Commission only provides advice and not recommendations, however in the case of proposals by community college districts which involve solely local funding.

It is also the state agency for administering certain federal programmes.

Its major responsibility, however, was the preparation of a five year plan to cover the period 1976-1981. It involved governing boards of the segments of public secondary education developing and submitting to the Commission institutional and system-wide long range plans in a form determined by the Commission after consultation, and the integration (through the plan) of the planning efforts of public segments and other pertinent plans. It was to also help resolve conflicts between segments and to report unsolved conflicts to legislature with recommendations.

In developing plans the Commission had to consider the following factors -

- the need for and location of new facilities,
- the range and kinds of programmes appropriate to each institution or system,
- the budgetary priorities of the institutions and systems,
- the impact of various types and levels of student charges on post-secondary educational programmes in institutions,
- appropriate levels of state financial aid,
- access and admission of students to post-secondary education,
- the educational programmes and resources of private post-secondary institutions.

Five year plans are to be up-dated annually - switching the emphasis in effect from the concept of a fixed master plan to one of continuous planning.

It was noticeable that new sections of post-secondary education were brought under the jurisdiction of the Commission.

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The Commission defined post-secondary education as "formal instruction and associated educational services offered by educational institutions or components thereof which serve primarily persons who have completed or terminated their secondary education or are beyond the age of compulsory school attendance".<sup>13</sup>

Its definition made no distinction between the private and public component of post-secondary education, implying that the former will increasingly come under its influence perhaps as it becomes more dependent on state and federal funding.

#### The Value of State Master Planning to Community Colleges

Gleazer has argued that state master planning has encouraged considerably the development of community colleges since the 1960s by placing limitations on state college and university enrolments, thereby channelling more lower division enrolments into community colleges,<sup>14</sup> and by assigning "partnership status" between all three components of higher education.<sup>15</sup>

In fact he regards state master planning as important as local community interest and demand in the historical development of junior and community colleges:-

"It is important to see that the community college was both an expression of state planning and a culmination of substantial interest in the local community.

The result was a big story in American education - the establishment of 500 community colleges in about a ten-year period."<sup>16</sup>

State master planning also clearly acts as a check in situations where community colleges and four-year colleges could attempt to up-grade their educational status - the former into four-year colleges, the latter into universities. For example several of the 25 junior colleges in Texas

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13. A Five-Year Plan for Post-secondary Education in California 1975-1981.

14. Gleazer, Project Focus, p.48.

15. Gleazer, Edmund J. "New Mandate for Co-ordination", New Directions for Community Colleges, 6, Summer 1974, pp.1-8.

16. Gleazer. What Now for the Community Colleges? Community and Junior College Journal, p6.

up to the mid 1960s, "grew up" into senior colleges. Hardin College which began in 1922 became Mid-Western University in 1961. San Angelo College and Pan American College became senior colleges in 1965. The process was stopped only after state authorities deliberately prevented more junior colleges becoming senior colleges. Instead the existing junior colleges were encouraged to enlarge their two-year technical training and adult education programmes as well as their traditional two-year academic transfer courses.<sup>17</sup>

However, despite the "pervasive influence of a single status system in higher education" in which post-graduate programmes and research units in prestigious universities represent the apex, Hodgkinson surprisingly found that from 1948 to 1968 only about 8% of two-year colleges had been converted into 4-year colleges.<sup>18</sup>

The more serious problem of community colleges in their relations with other sectors of higher education traditionally revolves around the apparent domination of the structure and content of community college transfer courses by four year colleges and universities.

Hodgkinson points that transfer curricula are very conservative. They are designed to get the approval of four-year colleges or universities. As a result attrition rates are very high. He recommended a policy of providing automatic acceptance in state four-year colleges and universities of all graduates of community colleges within a state. Such a policy would free community colleges to do creative work in undergraduate education.<sup>19</sup>

Ashby compared American community colleges with English technical colleges and schools of art and commerce. He argued the English

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17. Smith, Kathleen Bland. "Crossroads in Texas", Junior Colleges: 50 states/50 years, edited by Roger Yarrington, American Association of Junior Colleges, 1969, pp.138-146.
18. Hodgkinson, Harold L. Institutions in Transition: Profile of Change in Higher Education, The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1971, pp.123-129.
19. Ibid. pp.279-280.

institutions enjoyed independence from universities because they do not have transfer arrangements. He pointed out that 75% of community college students are enrolled in transfer courses yet only one in three succeed in transferring. This situation leads to conformity with academic patterns of education as found in 4-year colleges and universities, and discourages innovation within the community college in fields of study not recognised for transfer. He concluded that community colleges are "consumer" oriented and are vassals to four-year colleges.<sup>20</sup>

Gleazer believes that the master plans for higher education currently operating in many states which tend to think of higher education as integrated systems will solve some of these problems. He argues - "Opportunities may be greater in the future for community colleges to develop learning experience appropriate to their students without paralleling universities. The State Board of Higher Education in Illinois views the community colleges as part of an integrated system of higher education. In effect it has said to the universities that they must accept credits from associate degree transfer students. In Ohio, the initial Master Plan For Public Policy in Higher Education published by the Board of Regents, March 1971, recommends that an Ohio resident who graduates with an associate degree from a publicly sponsored two-year institution of higher education shall be admitted without further qualification to a baccalaureate programme of a publicly sponsored university, but only such course credit ---- may be transferred to a particular baccalaureate programme as are applicable to the requirements of that programme. A compact arrangement between community colleges and the state universities was pioneered by the state of Florida in 1959. In effect it meant that once a public institution of higher education had developed and published its programme of general education, the integrity of the programme would be recognised by the other public institutions in the state. In 1971 a new articulation agreement was formulated. This time it further specified that students receiving the Associate of Arts Degree would be admitted to the university system."<sup>21</sup>

20. Ashby. Any Person, Any Study, p.11.

21. Gleazer. Project Focus, p.57.

Given greater recognition and stability within more integrated system of higher education, it may be worth speculating that the willingness of some community colleges to co-operate more with high schools follows the implementation of state master plans.

In 1973 Gleazer found that financial cut backs had restricted programmes of high schools and that there was a growing trend to look towards the community college for support. He quotes the example of a Community College which offered calculus to high school students starting at 7 a.m. He also commented that, "by the time the student leaves high school and enters the community college or goes to a state university he will have already earned credit for three semesters of college calculus. Similarly vocational and technical education not available in high schools is sometimes offered to high school students by community colleges".<sup>22</sup>

Martin also noted that community colleges are encouraging 11th and 12th grade students to enrol in occupational courses on the college campus to utilise the expensive equipment which high schools commonly cannot afford.<sup>23</sup>

The same conditions, particularly "partnership status" may explain the development of "reverse transfer" enrolments. This involves the enrolment of graduates from four-year colleges and universities into vocationally-oriented community college programmes to enhance their prospects of employment in specific fields.<sup>24</sup>

Finally state master planning encourages greater research. Hurburt lists the following areas and questions needing close attention -

1. The relationship between the size of enrolments and efficiency.
2. The relationship between expenditure per full-time equivalent (F.T.E.) student and the quality of the college.
3. The relationships between levels or kinds of qualifications of teachers and the quality of instruction.

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22. Ibid. p.145.

23. Martin. Community College Review, p.33.

24. Ibid. p.31. See also Tolley, George "Community colleges: gimmicky or truly innovative?", T.H.E.S., 20.9.74, p.14.



4. What are the characteristics of successful community college teachers?  
Can "successful" teaching be predicted?
5. To what extent are facilities and curriculum determined?
6. Is there a desirable ratio between vocational students, technical students and college-parallel students?
7. Are there better solutions to the problem of meeting educational needs in sparsely populated areas other than smaller community colleges?
8. What is lost or gained in having strong state authority, a single state board, or a strong central staff responsible for community colleges?
9. Are there pupil characteristics that can be used to predict reliable success in various types of community colleges?
10. Is there a demonstrable relationship between the availability of guidance counselling and the tendency to remain in college, or between the availability of alternative programmes and the same tendency?<sup>25</sup>

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25. Hurburt. State Master Plans, p.42.

## CHAPTER 7

### THE FUTURE OF THE PUBLIC COMMUNITY COLLEGE

#### The Community Service Function?

In 1967 Harlacher predicted 7 major trends regarding community colleges and the community service function -

1. The development of aggressive multi-service outreach programmes designed to truly extend the campus throughout the entire college district.
2. Increasing emphasis on community education for all age levels and all groups.
3. Utilising of a greater diversification of media in meeting community needs and interests.
4. Increasing usage of the community colleges' catalytic capabilities to assist its community in the solution of basic educational economic, political and social problems.
5. Increasing concern for the cultural growth of the community and the state.
6. Greater emphasis on interaction with the community colleges community.
7. Increasing recognition of the need for co-operation with other community and regional agencies. <sup>1</sup>

Harlacher's ideas on community service or community education are beginning to gain acceptance within the community college movement and his predictions to be taken seriously.

In recent years Gleazer has vigorously advocated greater attention be paid by community colleges to the community service function.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Harlacher. The Community Dimensions of the Community College, pp.70-107.
  2. See the following publications by Gleazer, Edmund J. Project Focus, pp.214-216.
    - "New Mandate for Co-ordination", New Directions for Community Colleges, pp.5-6.
    - "What Now for the Community Colleges?", Community and Junior College Journal.
    - "Beyond the Open Door - The Open College", Community and Junior College Journal.

A national conference on "Community Services and the Community College" sponsored by Valencia Community College and the Institute of Higher Education, University of Florida, was held at Orlando in Florida in April 1974. Speakers included Gleazer, Harlacher and another leading community college spokesman Gunder A. Myran. Since then the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges has given increasing coverage to what is being called "community-based performance - oriented education". In 1976 it co-operated in the conducting of the Federal Government's study of "Community-based, performance-oriented educational programmes in the states and of the legal status of such programmes".<sup>3</sup> It's 1977 annual report also put heavy stress on "education that is concerned with new 'non-traditional markets'".<sup>4</sup>

The Times Higher Educational Supplement refers to the same process in an article entitled "Junior colleges look to Life-long learning for expanding future"<sup>5</sup> and in the same month, Gleazer reported that the AACJC will be co-operating with the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in a 3-year study project involving the analysis of local, state and national policies affecting the development of lifelong educational services. The Association is hoping to use the information and insights gained to "encourage and stimulate changes in policies, where necessary, and to bring about improvements in the climate for the development of all services to all citizens".<sup>6</sup>

Harlacher's definition of "community based" is "delivering the kinds of education that community members want, not the kinds the colleges think they should have; at locations where the learners are, not where we think they should be; all of this determined by open community participation in defining comprehensive learning needs, suggesting solutions and facilitating delivery". "Performance-oriented" means that acquired competencies will fit the needs of the learner rather than the expectations of the teacher;

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3. Reference provided earlier.

4. Gleazer, Edmund J. "Looking at 1977", Community and Junior College Journal, 48,5, February 1978, p.2.

5. T.H.E.S. 17.3.78, p.VI.

6. Gleazer, Edmund J. "Policy Questions", Community and Junior College Journal, 48,6, March 1978, p.2.

so that the competencies become more important than grades or credits and the learner can measure in his own terms achievement of an objective without reference to the teacher's evaluation of it." <sup>7</sup>

Harlacher quotes as an example of a community based institution, the development of an open community college as a fourth college of the junior college district of metropolitan Kansas City. The other three junior colleges fit the conventional pattern. The fourth, the Metropolitan Institute, operates as a consortium effort of the three colleges with a policy board composed of the three presidents and Harlacher himself as the chancellor. Its objective is to meet community needs in three ways -

1. Through programmes and services operated directly by the Institute.
2. Through specific programmes and services operated by the colleges under a contract with the Institute, with the Institute serving as a broker between client and college.
3. Through programmes and services permanently assigned to the college with the Institute serving as a co-ordinator. <sup>8</sup>

The most significant factor encouraging the promotion of Community service is the reduced growth rate in the enrolment of "traditional" students - the immediate post-high school age group.

In 1974 Gleazer noted that the population in the age group traditionally served by post-secondary education was levelling off and would be decreasing for the next 15 years, and that, despite a participation rate of over 50% of the nation's high school graduates going on to higher education, experts were warning that substantial increases in the rate were not to be expected for the future.

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7. Harlacher, Ervin L. What It Means To Be Community Based, paper presented at the 25th Anniversary Convention, Florida Association of Community Colleges, Tampa, Florida, November 1974, p.5.

8. Harlacher, Ervin L. "Providing a Comprehensive Programme of Community Services", Beyond The Open Door, The Open College: A report on the National Conference on Community Services and the Community College, Orlando, Florida, April 17-19, 1974, pp.30-31.

He pointed out that the value of college education for gaining good jobs was increasingly in doubt - a point supported by Karabel in 1972,<sup>9</sup> and by a study conducted by the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education at the University of California in 1974.<sup>10</sup>

He also pointed out that the monopoly or quasi monopoly of academic institutions was being increasingly challenged by the numbers of people enrolling in competitive proprietary and other commercial educational and training organisations. Community colleges no longer have a monopoly of developmental education, occupational education and other services considered by the community colleges to be among their distinctive offerings. These are now found in a growing number of institutions that have a new awareness of the educational market.

He conceded that, though the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in 1971 had estimated the need for 175 to 235 new community colleges by 1980 in order to achieve the goal of putting a community college within commuting distance of every potential student, in some parts of the country post-secondary institutions, both public and private, were under utilised and many were aggressively seeking "customers".

In this tougher more competitive environment he recommended the community college should redefine its field and promote itself as "a community-based performance-based, post-secondary institution".<sup>11</sup>

Dr. Gunder A. Myran sees community-based education being developed through four institutional alternative "futures" for the community college pursuing this function -

1. Community-Network College emphasising creative linkages between the various community educational agencies, sharing resources, doing joint programming, providing leadership and creating a unified educational environment in the community.

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9. Karabel. Harvard Educational Review XLII, cited by Goodwin p.268.

10. Cited by Goodwin, Community College Frontiers, p.13.

11. Gleazer. "What Now for the Community Colleges?" Community and Junior College Journal.

2. Sub-Population College with an emphasis on learning to serve through educational programmes all sub-groups in the community. Staff development, programme development and other activities would focus on moving towards this central goal.
3. Social System College with an emphasis on studying all basic institutions in the community: education, law, government, religion, the family, commerce, etc., and searching out ways the community college could help improve the social system of the community.
4. Lifelong Learning College with an emphasis on developing programmes and services which address the educational needs of all age groups in the community.<sup>12</sup>

However he is aware of "road-blocks" i.e. forces that could "destroy or blunt this (possible) future".

Three factors receive special attention, administrative structure and style, the commitment to egalitarianism, and the commitment to the development of humanistic approaches in education. He argues for new administrative structures and styles not based on divisions among traditional academic disciplines but on a new "consciousness" away from present isolation from "the real world" and emphasising more direct links with the community. He quotes the studies of Peterson and Bushnell<sup>13</sup> as evidence that the commitment of professional staff to the egalitarian objectives of community colleges is not very strong and, finally, he fears that the development of humanistic approaches in education could be thwarted by three things. First that adult education may define adults as inadequate, insufficient, lacking and incomplete. Secondly that the attempts to solve major educational problems may be conducted at the expense of equality. Thirdly the development of an education seen as a commodity with each unit of knowledge having a certain amount of "official" knowledge without the addition of Illich's "personal knowledge".<sup>14</sup>

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12. Myran. College Perspective '75: New Thrusts - New Musts, pp.39-41.

13. Cited by Myran, p.45.

14. Ibid. pp.44-47.

Others have noted that professional staff are a "road-block" to the development of the community service function.

In 1974 Harlacher admitted that community colleges are still primarily "college-based and faculty-based - not community based".<sup>15</sup> Ronald L. Griffith, the Dean of Community Service of the AACJC has stated that on community service functions rhetoric far outstrips performance. He suspects that most of the exemplary community service activities "have resulted mainly from available federal or foundation funding sources" and not from any real concern from governing boards, administration or state politicians.

He concluded "in too many instances the community college has developed into little more than an awkward and sometimes frustrated cross between a university and an area vocational school. We struggle, trying to identify and clarify our one truly unique mission - community services".

To improve the situation in his opinion requires "an honest community needs assessment, and appropriate follow-up action", combined with a greater commitment to really meeting those needs.<sup>16</sup>

Another problem is "the continuing tendency of legislators, public commentators, even educationists, to judge them by conventional yardsticks such as drop-out rates and the number of degrees and diplomas awarded".<sup>17</sup>

Finally in their endeavour to follow Gleazer's exhortation to re-define their functions and move into less competitive areas, some community colleges that embrace community service as their main function could find themselves confronted with a competitive situation. Maurice F. Seay and Associates point to the potential problem of duplication and waste in "community education" programming when community college districts are superimposed over several local school districts. Both types of institutions can have strong involvements in "community education" programming.

15. Harlacher. Beyond The Open Door, The Open College, p.26.

16. Griffith, Ronald L. Community College Community Services - The Question of Accountability, paper presented at the Annual Convention of the AACJC, Washington D.C., March 17-19, 1976.

17. "Junior Colleges look to lifelong learning for expanding future", T.H.E.S., 17.3.78, p.VI.

- a term used by Seay and Associates in very similar ways to Harlacher's community service".

However they suggest "that the community college is in a strategic position to advocate a special community-wide organisational structure designed to provide co-ordination and to fill gaps in the community's educational programme for life-long learning".<sup>18</sup>

#### Other Viewpoints

Not all commentators on the future of the community college have placed such heavy emphasis on community service. George L. Hall for example, though acknowledging the need for a review of community college purposes, believes greater emphasis should be placed on making "occupational education equal to academic education in the minds of people".

He also believes that community colleges "must tackle these problems because it is occupational education that makes them different".

However he goes part of the way to meeting the position of Gleazer by arguing for a more student oriented rather than subject oriented teacher service.<sup>19</sup>

Clyde E. Blocker and Janet N. Bacon argue for "equal power for all four aspects of the college, community service, student services, vocational-technical, and academic". They recognise that a prerequisite for such equality is greater funding for non-academic community services. However, they go no further in their promotion of this particular function.

Like Hall they also move towards the Gleazer position on the issue of curriculum which they feel "Needs to be conceptualised in terms which put it closer to life".<sup>20</sup>

Arthur M. Cohen, the Professor of Higher Education, University of California, Los Angeles does not think that the community colleges of the year 2000 will be much different from those of today. He believes

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18. Seay, Maurice F. and Associates. Community Education: A Developing Concept, Pendell Publishing Company, 1974, pp.332-333.

19. Hall, George L. "Behind the Bramble Bushes: Mid-Century History of the Community College", Community College Review 2, 3, Fall 1974. pp.6-14.

20. Blocker, Clyde E., and Bacon, Janet N. "The Community College of the Future: A Balancing Act Between Social and Educational Demands", Community College Review, 1,3, Fall 1973, pp.7-13.



the actual number of colleges will change though not as much as in recent decades. He concedes that the pattern of institutional development points towards expansion within each state until a college is within reasonable daily commuting distance of almost every resident. New colleges will open up only when shifts in population occur.

He does not see the community college movement trying to detach itself from higher education. On the contrary he argues they will attempt to strengthen their ties by off-loading some functions, in particular recreational and cultural activities. He also believes "they will retain their pre-eminence in adult basic education and college parallel courses, adding high level technical programmes to their occupational offerings. Expansion into occupational training that is properly the responsibility of the unions and industrial enterprise will have ceased. Much of the lower order occupational training such as for the construction trade and food services, will revert to apprenticeships sanctioned by unions for which college credits are offered".

He does not rule out the development of community services but argues it is one out of several functions in which colleges could well specialise and one which could enable post-secondary education to revert "to one of its original purposes: the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake".

He does not think that "the community as a whole" in Harlacher's sense of the term community service can be a proper target of college concern because of the "intensely modified perceptions of education" that would be required and "because of the competitive nature of institutions". He also noted that "funding follows institutional not educational channels".<sup>21</sup>

Cohen's view that the community college will become more specialised in future is supported by John F. Grede and Gunda, A. Myran, though each views the process differently.

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21. Cohen. Community College Frontiers, 4, 3, 1976.

Grede has proposed an urban model for the community college as an alternative to the multi-unit urban models predominant in the 1960s. Many of these developments had little more to guide them than the single unit, small-town or suburban community college district. The multi-unit urban community college system "included a complex of several colleges and campuses, maximum autonomy for its individual units, and comprehensive offerings in each unit". Grede points out that the proponents saw this concept as fostering "democratic and decentralised decision making and simplified communications". On the negative side however "it often encouraged duplication of effort, uneconomic small programs, confusion as to responsibility, and wasteful competition between units". He notes that Richardson has already challenged the concept of autonomous colleges with uneconomic duplication and little concern for common goals of the system. As an alternative Richardson proposes centralisation of all planning - fiscal, program, and facilities - along with a management information system and personnel administration. Individual units administer only instructional programmes.

Grede proposes another model lying between the extremes of multi-college and multi-campus that "stresses clear definition of specialised but complementary missions for a limited number of units".

He gives as an example "a cluster of five community colleges scattered around the perimeter of a central business district of a large city in a kind of loose educational park. Each college concentrates on one of the following fields of specialisation in occupational education: business, creative and performing arts, engineering and industrial technologies, health, and public and human services".

He lists the following disadvantages of the model -

1. transfer from one specialised field to another would not be easy,
2. the early commitment by the student to a field of interest. Grede hopes that the national emphasis on career awareness as early as the elementary school years may make this vital choice easier in the future.

3. centrally located urban campuses would not permit of geographic proximity to the main suburban areas,
4. less opportunity for a close-working relationship between community college and a residential area surrounding it,
5. specialised occupational institutions may get branded as low status trade schools.

He sees the advantages as -

1. the elimination of the transfer/terminal dichotomy, given the emphasis on areas of specialisation. There would be less need for the arbitrary separation of transfer-oriented education and occupationally-oriented education,
2. remedial or developmental programmes would relate more directly to career-oriented programmes. The result is the utility of remedial work becomes much more apparent to students.
3. general education could be more oriented to the particular needs of the students' career choices,
4. specialisation would enable development of a cohesive group of programmes related to the field of specialisation itself,
5. the institution would have a clearer image in the eyes of the public. It would be more readily recognised than the more comprehensive image of the traditional community college,
6. a clearer image and sense of mission would allow the institution to know precisely what its responsibilities are and to better concentrate its energies on the performance of its role. Grede points out that the "something for everybody" concept of the traditional community college would be reduced to manageable proportions,
7. budgeting would be easier because the essential differences among the colleges are in the programmes not the geographical locations. He also believes that specialisation would encourage the economy of operation, enabling expensive and sophisticated equipment to be concentrated in the one location. It would also maximise the utilisation of teaching personnel and support staff such as laboratory assistants.

8. curriculum cores would be easier to promote because there would be enough students specialising in related fields to make the core academically and economically sound,
9. a clearer definition of mission "encourages more effective career choices by concentrating, guidance, counselling, and placement efforts on limited portion of the career spectrum, rather than attempting to stay abreast of an entire universe of career opportunities",
10. ethnic and racial integration would be promoted by locating the institutions centrally rather than among the residential neighbourhoods.<sup>22</sup>

Gunder A. Myran, though a strong supporter of "community-based education, also sees growing specialisation among community colleges.

Five specialist orientations are possible for the colleges in his opinion:

1. The academy or fortress college with emphasis on a free-standing or campus-based approach to classical arts and science curricula.
2. The vocational/technical institute with emphasis on campus-based career-oriented curricula.
3. The socialisation center with emphasis on student development, human potential seminars, social and vocational counselling, cultural and recreational activities and developmental or remedial programmes.
4. The learning resource center with emphasis on mediated instruction audio/tutorial devices, behavioural objectives, and systems approaches to learning.
5. Community-based college with emphasis on a community rather than campus orientation, including new mixes of college and community resources, physical spaces, clientele and experiences.<sup>23</sup>

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22. Grede, John F. "The Untried Model of The Urban Community College", New Directions for Community Colleges, 1,4, Winter, 1973, pp.25-33. On the question of "the multi-unit urban Community College system, Grede (p.26) cites Kintzer, F.C. "Decision Making in The Multi-Unit College". Junior College Research Review (Los Angeles: Eric Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, UCLA) January 1972. He also cites (p.26) - Richardson, R.C. "Governing the Multi-Unit Community College System", Educational Record, Spring 1973, 54(2), pp.144-145.

23. Myran, Gunder A. "Community Services: Issues, Challenges and Perspectives" Beyond the Open Door, The Open College: A Report on the National Conference on Community Services and the Community College, Orlando, Florida, April 17-19, 1974, p.7.

Summary: Increasing Specialisation

Overall there seems to be a consensus of opinion amongst some leading spokesmen and commentators on the community college movement that there will be greater functional specialisation within the colleges as higher education becomes more diversified.

Spokesmen such as Gleazer, Harlacher, Griffith and Myran show concern that the movement should re-think its basic educational mission, perhaps by embracing more fully the community service function. If successful the colleges could solve their so called "identity crisis" caused in part by an opportunistic policy of rapidly extending their functions without reference to any coherent overriding philosophy - a central point in Goodwin's thesis.

However, as Grede points out, specialisation itself - perhaps irrespective of what form it takes - would enable an institution to present a clearer image to the public. Increasing emphasis on occupational training or on strengthening links with higher education as indicated by Cohen could lead to the same outcome.

It may be worth speculating that state master planning is a precondition for extensive specialisation between colleges, particularly given the coordination problems involved. Grede's and Richardson's urban models presuppose an overall plan or objective which individual units of an urban community college system must view as their main reference point.

If true a corollary would be that the comprehensive community college model in urban locations tends to develop where overall planning of higher education is weak or non-existent. It will develop a comprehensive range of services partially as a response to community demand, but also because of a tendency to seek new "markets" for students when enrolments in the longer-established "traditional" programmes cease to grow at the desired rate.

## PART III: CANADA

CHAPTER 8GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN COMMUNITY COLLEGEIntroduction

Article Six Section 93 of the British North American Act proclaimed - "In and for each Province the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education". The result is that systems of education have emerged which reflect the needs, philosophical outlooks and historical patterns of particular areas. Canadian community colleges both French and English exhibit great diversity in purpose, programme, student population and administrative structure and philosophical base.<sup>1</sup>

Canada to some extent has been influenced by the developments of American junior colleges. British Columbia and Alberta borrowed the concept of a comprehensive college system virtually intact from the United States.<sup>2</sup>

However actual records of the early history of the junior college movement in Canada appear to be obscure. Gordon Campbell's research indicates that at the turn of the century there were only a few institutions that could be called junior colleges. In 1934 President Sherwood Fox of the University of Western Ontario sent a questionnaire to 19 institutions of higher learning, and reported that, as far as the replies indicate, there were 11 junior colleges.

In 1958-9 the Canadian Institutions of Higher Education reported there were 49 colleges that could be classed as junior colleges. More than half of these were French language institutions situated in Quebec; the other institutions, both English and French, offered some university level studies; three were military colleges. Of the 49 colleges, three operated under Federal control, five were under provincial jurisdiction, forty were church-governed and one was controlled

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1. Campbell, Gordon. Community Colleges in Canada, Ryerson Press, 1971, introduction.

2. Campbell, Gordon. "Canadian Community Colleges: Progress and Problems", Convergence, 4,3,1971, pp.78-85.

by a group of local school boards. Only two institutions included the term "junior college" in their titles.<sup>3</sup>

Immediately after World War II, Canada, like the United States, found itself short of facilities for the training of technical skills. In the case of Canada the need for a more adequately trained labour force was greater. "In 1952, full-time students in institutes of technology numbered only 3,000. Seven years later that number tripled, but the total in relation to the need was still small."

The Federal Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act in 1960 gave a considerable impetus to the development of technical training. "The Act was extraordinarily generous. It allowed the Federal Government to offer 75% of the capital costs of new buildings and equipment and half the annual operating costs. The response from the provinces was swift. Enrolment in technical programmes rose to 200,000 in 1964-65. While the provinces varied in the nature of the training opportunities that were created in response to federal funding, the country had taken a giant step forward. By the mid-sixties the number of post-secondary, non-degree granting institutions had increased dramatically."<sup>4</sup>

However the development of these institutions was largely unplanned. Cicely Watson noted that before 1965 there were no "systems" in Canadian post-secondary education. There was tremendous variation in purpose, content, standards, curricula, teaching methods, institutional locations, recruitment and financing.

She found that before 1965 the nomenclature was limited to elementary, secondary and higher education. Between secondary and higher education there were institutions offering courses that overlapped to some extent (at least in the level of study) with universities and secondary schools.

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3. Campbell. op.cit. p.5.

4. Campbell. op.cit. pp.78-79.

These institutions were sponsored by many different public authorities. Relations to one another were difficult to pin down. Their existence was based on a variety of public regulating acts and private agreements which could be regarded as negotiated "treaties".

Academic standards ranged from equivalents to the liberal arts and pure sciences of the university to equivalence to trade and apprenticeship studies. Between the extremes there were teachers' colleges for elementary teachers, hospital and regional nurses' training schools, agricultural colleges, programmes of business education controlled by professional organisations and programmes of industrial education controlled by trade organisations.

After 1966 there was considerable rationalisation in the Canadian provinces. "Systems boundaries" emerged with some recognizable common elements.<sup>5</sup>

It was largely at this point that the Canadian community college movement began. As in the case of the United States, it really became significant following the introduction of comprehensive educational planning and co-ordination in the post-secondary sector.

#### Quebec

In June 1967 the National Assembly passed a Bill creating Collèges d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel (CEGEP) - the community colleges of Quebec.

The CEGEPs tended not to be created de novo but from "a reorganisation of existing institutions, including normal schools, classical colleges and technical institutes".

The establishment of these colleges was a direct outcome of a highly prestigious Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education chaired by Monsignor Alphonse - Marie Parent. It began in May 1961 and issued volumes 2 and 3 of its report in October 1964 which recommended the formation of 'institutes' - "comprehensive institutions for post-school students preparing them either for University or employment". Campbell



reports that "by September 1967, 12 CEGEPs had been formed and within five years some 37 dotted the province".

The extent of educational reforms and the speed with which they have been conducted are unquestionably impressive.

"Prior to the 1960s, education in Quebec was largely either Catholic and French or Protestant and English. For the French, education was largely the prerogative of the Church; the English were given free rein to operate as they saw fit." (Anglo-Catholics had carved out their own existence within the French Catholic sector.)

The extent of educational reform marked a strong bias in favour of secularism. By the Spring of 1966 a department of education had been established for the first time in the history of Quebec. Contributing factors to this development included the rapid expansion of secondary education, increased urbanization, and a decline in the birth-rate. The changes also indicated an increase in Power of the Francophones.

Inevitably the speed with which the changes have been made have created tensions and problems. "Curricula problems, inadequate facilities, shifts from classical studies to technical programmes, administrators attuned to past needs and student anxiety about employment were among the factors contributing to a province-wide student strike in October 1968 that closed the CEGEPs for a while. Recently the government found itself in a hailstorm of controversy after its decision to re-classify instructors. Particularly hard hit was the English element. Second, financial strains, while not unique to Quebec, are especially difficult to bear when exacerbated by inadequate facilities. Third, a collision between the rhetoric and reality of the CEGEP system appears inevitable if it continues to nourish doctrines of social justice and full employment and then finds that jobs cannot be found for the graduate".<sup>6</sup>

However Campbell very sympathetically points out that the

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6. Campbell, Gordon. "Community Colleges in Canada", Canadian Association of University of Teachers (CAUT) Bulletin, XXIII, December 1974, pp.8-12.

sociological context in which the colleges operate is difficult and complicated. A few examples will illustrate the point.

First the division between academic and technical-vocational education was very sharp in the previous system. Transfer between the sectors and within the sectors was not possible without the obligation to repeat months or even years of school work.

Only since 1965 has a French public secondary school existed.

Facilities for technical programmes are inadequate, e.g. the libraries designed for use in the old classical colleges are not suitable for present curricula.

Finally, teachers familiar with more authoritarian institutions are expected to quickly up-date teaching methods and curricula.

In these circumstances Campbell feels it is understandable why a single and very specific curriculum was created.<sup>7</sup>

The CEGEPs have been set up as a third tier of a four tiered unitary system, in accordance with the Parent Report which proposed six years of elementary and five years of secondary schooling, followed by attendance at an "institute". The courses at the "institute" were to be of two years' duration preparatory to entering university and three years for training preparatory to employment.<sup>8</sup>

A striking feature of this arrangement is that the only route leading to admission to a university is through the CEGEPs. Direct entrance to the university without first completing two years of studies at a CEGEP is not possible.

#### Ontario

Up to the end of the Second World War the educational system was biased to the academic tradition.

After the Second World War the population increased sharply following both a rise in the birth rate and heavy immigration.

In these circumstances technical education enjoyed some

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7. Campbell, Community Colleges in Canada, pp.55-56.

8. Campbell, Convergence.

development though it still tended to be overshadowed by academic preferences. From 1945 to 1965 six provincial institutes of technology were formed offering two and three year diploma courses with specialization in mining, forestry and textiles.<sup>9</sup>

Generous federal funding also encouraged development of provincial institutes of trade and vocational centres which offered one and two year courses, short courses and apprenticeship training in many specialities for students entering from Grades 10, 11 or 12. It also appears to have been an important factor in the development of a strong professional, vocational and technical orientation to the colleges of applied arts and technology - the community colleges of Ontario - which came in later. In 1948 the Ryerson Institute of Technology was founded as a polytechnical college extending programmes beyond trades to business administration and the applied arts. In 1963 it ceased being administered directly by the provincial Department of Education and was re-named the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute acquiring its own board of governors in the process.<sup>10</sup> In 1965 the Ministry of Education moved to reform and rationalise the post-secondary technical sector following expansion and reform of secondary level education. It introduced legislation for the setting up of community colleges to be called Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, an "entirely new system of post-school institutions as a valid alternative to universities and not as feeder stations for them".<sup>11</sup>

As in the case of the CEGEPs, the CAATS developed very rapidly. By 1975 there were 22 colleges with more than 60 campuses offering 2000 programmes to 55,000 full-time students.<sup>12</sup>

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9. Watson. New College Systems, pp.15-17.

10. Watson. op.cit. pp.17-18.

11. Campbell. CAUT.

12. Campbell, Gordon. "Some Comments on Reports of Post-Secondary Commissions in Relation to Community Colleges in Canada", The Canadian Journal of Higher Education, 3, 1975, pp.55-68.

The Ontario College of Art and the Ryerson Polytechnic Institute were not included in the CAAT system though the latter has influenced the development of the colleges.<sup>13</sup>

### Alberta

Alberta has developed community colleges on the American model.

The first junior college was founded as a private institution in 1910 at Mount Royal in Calgary. It developed a variety of programmes, some at secondary level and transfer programmes with various American higher educational institutions, but failed to get transfer credit arrangements with the University of Alberta.

Camrose Lutheran College received recognition as a junior college in 1939. Its students were able to transfer to under-graduate degree programmes at the University of Alberta as well as at various U.S. institutions.

Other Church-affiliated institutions include College St. Jean and Alberta College in Edmonton.

The first public junior college was set up at Lethbridge. The initiative was taken by the district school board to provide local youngsters with opportunities for studying first year university studies cheaply and conveniently near home. Following a study by S. V. Martorana, an American expert commissioned by the board, an approach was made to the University of Alberta and the Ministry of Education for support to set up a junior college. In 1957 the University approved an affiliation agreement. A transfer arrangement from the college to the university was possible after one year's study in specific fields only. The University made the agreement once it was satisfied that the college had acceptable levels of library and laboratory facilities for each course. It also controlled admission standards of the college, examinations, and staff/student ratios for transfer courses. College teachers involved in transfer courses had to have at least a Masters Degree or its equivalent in the subject to be taught.

In the same year provincial legislature passed an Act establishing the Lethbridge Junior College. This Act was the prelude to the 1958 Public Junior Colleges Act under which colleges could be established by a school board or under an agreement with a number of boards, provided the Ministry of Education and the University of Alberta agreed. Colleges could provide first year university courses and beyond, again with university approval, and courses of a general vocational nature not provided in the high school curriculum. Students intending to register for university courses at colleges had to meet the same admission requirements as those entering university directly.

This Act paved the legal way for the development of the community college system in Alberta. Three other factors affected general development -

1. A provincial geography involving vast distances and a difficult climate.
2. A small population, few urban centres and recent growth in Edmonton and Calgary.
3. Local traditions of interest and involvement in education programmes.<sup>14</sup>

These factors made it very difficult for the Albertan government to seriously tackle the question of co-ordination until 1967, when it set up the Board of Post Secondary Education followed in 1969 by the Alberta Colleges Commission. In 1972 it replaced the Commission with the Department of Advanced Education whose responsibilities covered the whole of post-school provincial education including the four universities.<sup>15</sup>

#### British Columbia

The British Columbian junior college system involves a close connection with local school boards similar to the pattern operating in California, Oregon and Washington.<sup>16</sup> Campbell estimates more than 46 out of approximately 75 school districts are involved in the operation of colleges.<sup>17</sup>

14. Ibid. pp.22-24.

15. Campbell. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.

16. Campbell. Convergence.

17. Campbell. CAUT.

Between 1903 and 1915 Victoria College (now the University of Victoria) was affiliated with McGill University and administered by the Victoria School Board, in a way very similar to the relationship between junior colleges and universities that also began about the same time in California. It later affiliated with the University of British Columbia.

In 1958 the Public School Act was amended to permit the formation of colleges operated by one or more school boards. This paved the way for the formation of regional rather than district colleges.

In 1962 J.B. Macdonald, the President of the University of British Columbia presented his report entitled "Higher Education in British Columbia and a Plan for the Future". The plan was for the development of a system of tertiary education for the whole province. His proposals involved four year colleges offering degree programmes and two year community colleges offering both academic and technological programmes. It is widely acknowledged that the Report gave impetus and direction to the development of the province's community colleges.<sup>18</sup>

In 1963 amendments to the Public Schools Act provided for the establishment and government of colleges as a responsibility of locally elected boards of school trustees and generally facilitated the implementation of the Macdonald Report. To establish a college, citizens had to pass a plebiscite (approval in principle) and a referendum (approval of specific local taxation for the capital costs). Campbell reports that while plebiscites tended to be successful, only one in three of the referenda put to taxpayers by school boards succeeded.<sup>19</sup>

By 1975 Simon Fraser University and Okanagan College had joined forces to offer degree completion programmes in two fields. Similar co-operative arrangements were being planned by the University of Victoria and Malaspina College.

Also by 1975 there were 9 comprehensive colleges offering university transfer and career programmes, and one institute of technology

18. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, pp.25-26.

19. Campbell. Op.cit.

concentrating on technical training studies to a high level of proficiency. A tenth college named Fraser Valley college was created in late 1974.<sup>20</sup>

In February 1970 the government introduced further amendments to the Public Schools Act. Vocational schools were amalgamated with adjacent colleges and the distinctions between regional and district colleges were abandoned.<sup>21</sup>

Until 1963, colleges were obliged to be affiliated with the University of British Columbia. Subsequently steady progress was made in making university degree programmes available throughout British Columbia through the community college network.

### Saskatchewan

Saskatchewan has introduced a radically different approach to the concept and introduction of community colleges.

It has less than 5% of the entire population of Canada (about 920,000). Half of its population exist in four major cities. The remainder are scattered in 500 small and larger communities with a strong bias to agriculture. Given consolidation of farm units and migration out of Saskatchewan, the overall population is tending to decline.

Discussion in rural Saskatchewan tends to be on issues such as "rail line abandonment, closing of smaller community based grain terminals in favour of large inland terminals, and the death of smaller rural Saskatchewan towns".

For the past 20 years the concern in Saskatchewan has been about a post-secondary educational model to cater for needs of such a scattered population with a mixture of native and European ethnic backgrounds.<sup>22</sup>

There were seven junior colleges in Saskatchewan in the 1930s,

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20. Campbell. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.

21. Campbell. loc. cit.

22. Riederer, Lewis. "An Experiment with the College as the Community and the Community as the College", College Perspectives '75: New Thrusts - New Musts, Proceedings of the Sixth Annual International Institute on the Community College, Lambton College, Sarnia, Ontario, Canada, 9-12 June, 1975.

mainly private with Church connections. Most were either affiliated with the University of Saskatchewan or became high schools.<sup>23</sup>

However, these colleges did not become the models for a system of community colleges introduced in 1972 probably because they did not suit the conditions and traditions of Saskatchewan particularly as interpreted by the new provincial government of 1971.

Two of the more significant traditions that influenced political consideration in 1971 were the strong sense of self-help in local communities, particularly in rural areas and "a firm historical foundation to adult education".

From early days local communities sought information through many of their organisations as a basis for planning and the organisation of new developments. The provincial government departments of Agriculture, Public Health, Welfare Education, Culture and Youth Agency have educational programmes related to their services.<sup>24</sup>

Over 100 voluntary associations conduct adult learning programmes for economic and social betterment.

The University of Saskatchewan fitted in well with this spirit of community service. It has had a long history of making its resources and information services available to the public through its extension departments.

A good indication of the strength of community "self-help" is the fact that 9 out of 10 farmers belong to some sort of co-operative.

The provision of adult education services by the provincial government began in 1944 when the first Adult Education Branch of the Department of Education was formed.<sup>25</sup>

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23. Campbell. loc.cit.

24. Report of the Minister's Advisory Committee on Community Colleges, Saskatchewan Department of Continuing Education, Regina, Aug. 1972.

25. Paris, Ronald L. Colleges Without Walls But With Foundations: Integrated College And Communications Development in Saskatchewan, Speech given at the International Institute on the Community College, Lambton College, Sarnia, Ontario, Canada, 11 June, 1974.



By 1957 most evening classes were self-supporting and the adult education branch invested energy in co-ordination and consultation services only.

In the same year the Centre for Community Studies was set up jointly by the province and the University of Saskatchewan. It provided some valuable research and research material before the withdrawal of provincial funds in 1964.

In 1963 the Adult Education Division became the Continuing Education Branch. In 1966, the Branch was phased out of existence. The emphasis in adult education shifted away from community programming to the expansion of the technical training capabilities of institutes of applied arts and sciences.<sup>26</sup>

By 1971 it was evident there was a need for reassessment. University enrolments were not meeting projected numbers; the technical institutes were unable to accommodate applicants; and adult education was offered by some school boards and not others.

Earlier in 1967 a Commission chaired by Dr. J. S. Spinks, President of the University of Saskatchewan, recommended a college system be created to provide "middle range education". In 1970 a Special Advisory Committee to the Minister of Education urged the creation of a system of "colleges of applied arts and sciences" based upon the already existing technical vocational facilities in the four larger cities of Saskatchewan.<sup>27</sup>

A new government was elected on June 23, 1971 which reassessed the proposed draft legislation. It found the proposals too traditional and little concerned about people particularly in rural areas.<sup>28</sup> Instead it opted for the development of "a unique community college system with emphasis on community education and development".<sup>29</sup>

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26. Saskatchewan Report. loc.cit.

27. Faris. loc.cit.

28. Campbell. CAUT.

29. Faris, Ron, "Community College development in Saskatchewan: a unique approach", Canadian Forum, October-November 1972, pp.60-61.

The new colleges in the main were to have no campuses of their own, award no degrees or diplomas in their own right, but use existing facilities in a more advantageous manner and provide credit programmes under contract from other post-secondary institutions.

The Minister appointed an advisory committee charged with clarifying the role of any college, and advising on the "educational process throughout the province which would foster understanding of the philosophy and potential of community college development". It was also asked to identify criteria concerning the community's readiness for a college and the implementation of college policy throughout the province. Its most immediate task was to conduct a series of public meetings and hearings throughout the province to gain the ideas of interested citizens. These were held from the beginning of April 1972 and in August 1972 the Committee Report was presented to the Minister. Most of its 48 recommendations were accepted.

By October of 1972 four pilot areas each with different demographic characteristics were begun: College developers, experienced in community education, were immediately sent in to the regions to assist local advisory committees in groups in the assessment of community needs and resources. The provincial library with over 200 branches was immediately seen as the colleges' library-media distribution system. The University of Saskatchewan and the three provincial technical-vocational institutes were ready to provide programmes on a contractual basis upon request from regional college councils. While the colleges were to have no capacity for offering their own university transfer programmes or technical vocational programmes, they were able to offer programmes directly on a wide range of adult education activities making full use of local people as instructors.

In the first year of operation the four colleges offered about 1,000 different programmes to over 11,000 students.<sup>30</sup> In the Fall of 1973 the four colleges began with enrolments of over 15,000 students in

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30. Paris. Colleges Without Walls.

1200 programmes. The cost from the 1st July, 1974 was under three-quarters of a million dollars.<sup>31</sup>

### Manitoba

Like Saskatchewan, Manitoba has some traditional private church-related colleges and public technical schools. After the election of June 1969, the Manitoba Institute of Technology and two vocational schools were re-named as community colleges, although their structure and function remained largely unchanged. The colleges are managed directly by the Department of Colleges and University Affairs not by a board of governors.

A Task Force on Post-Secondary Education in November 1973 recommended major reforms affecting colleges. It proposed a Commission on Post-Secondary Education be formed and post-school education be regionally organised.

One interesting aspect, perhaps influenced by the Saskatchewan situation, is that the Task Force recommended that regional co-ordinators would assist communities in contracting services with universities and community colleges.

The Task Force was also critical of centralisation, inflexibility and the lack of local control within the existing structure. It advocated less dependence upon federally funded adult re-training.

Campbell reported in 1974 that these recommendations were still under review, and in 1975 that little action had been taken on the Task Force Report.<sup>32</sup>

### The Atlantic Provinces

The four Atlantic Provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, maintain a number of colleges which serve a variety of constituencies in the Atlantic Provinces - institutes of technology; an agricultural college; a navigation school; a land survey institute; a college of fisheries, marine engineering and electronics.

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31. Riederer. College Perspectives '75.

32. Campbell. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.

Campbell argues these do not function as a system comparable to those in other provinces.

However, a variety of pressures, including the opportunity to share available federal resources among the four provinces, is encouraging a movement towards college systems with more community control.

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island have proclaimed the Maritime Provinces Higher Education Act. This Act established the Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission with the function of advising the three governments concerning post-school education.

New Brunswick has enacted legislation on 1st November, 1973, establishing the New Brunswick Community College under one provincial board of governors.

This body is responsible for advising the Ministry of Education regarding the pattern and administration of all post-school non-degree programmes. The Province is to be divided into college regions with five regional boards.

One reason given for the construction of a system with one province-wide board is the flexibility and co-ordination it affords. Technology, trade and special programmes can now be operated under the same administration. It is also expected to permit greater community consultation, and to place the board in closer touch with the needs of students rather than the needs of the staff.

The only college in Prince Edward Island was founded in 1969. It was modelled on the lines of the Ontario colleges, with a strong emphasis on technical training.

Following the 1968 Royal Commission on Education and Youth, attention was given to the possibility of establishing community colleges in Newfoundland. However in 1974 Campbell was not able to report any official policy on the matter, though in June 1973 a regional college of Memorial University had been established at Corner Brook, enabling students who lived far from St. Johns to complete two years of study towards the baccalaureate degree. A two year diploma programme was also

available for those not pursuing a degree. Newfoundland has two technical institutes which operate under their own legislation. Both have their own boards of governors.

In 1974 Campbell also reported that there was no formalised community college system in Nova Scotia, nor did there appear to be any widespread concern to get one.<sup>33</sup>

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33. Campbell. CAUT.

CHAPTER 9GOVERNANCE AND CONTROLGeneral Situation In Some ProvincesQuebec.

The CEGERs are governed by an appointed Board of Governors with regulations and controls supervised by the General Directorate of College Education of the Ministry of Education.<sup>1</sup>

According to Campbell the term "community college" as used in Quebec is particularly apt. "In planning as well as in management of the colleges there is established a lively sense of community involvement. The community has a board of directors consisting of 19 members including 4 named by the faculty, 2 by the students, 4 drawn from parents. In order to allow for maximum community participation provision is made for 5 other members to be named only after consultation with the other community groups. The board itself may recommend to the minister the appointment of two additional members in order to ensure a proper balance between college and community representation. The Principal and Academic Dean are also members."<sup>2</sup>

The five community representatives are persons nominated by local school and higher education authorities and local community organisations.<sup>3</sup>

One of the main problems of the Directorate is to maintain the delicate balance between centralisation, co-ordination and control on the one hand and maximum community involvement, flexibility and autonomy on the other.

Campbell points out that co-ordination does imply direction in Quebec. As an example the Directorate must ensure that a programme with

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1. Watson. New College Systems, p.13.

2. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, pp.48-49.

3. Watson. Op.cit p.14.

a limited market is not offered by a large number of colleges, particularly if it involves expensive equipment.<sup>4</sup>

#### Ontario.

Ontario has been divided into 10 regional development areas.

Each college of applied arts and technology is controlled by a board of governors consisting of 12 members chosen from the area served. A board answers to the Minister of Education with additional authority under the Corporations Act and is responsible for the development and operation of each college. It appoints the president and all other faculty and staff, establishes the budget and submits it to the Minister for approval, develops curricula and publishes information about courses, fees and admission which have been approved by the Minister. Advisory committees are formed to guide the boards of governors in their decisions with respect to the colleges' programmes. These committees draw their members from industry, business and the professions which are related to the particular programmes of study.<sup>5</sup>

Of the 12 persons comprising the board of governors in each area, 8 are appointed by the Council of Regents for four year terms and four by the Council of Municipalities where the colleges are located, also for four years.

The Council of Regents is composed of 15 members appointed by the Minister of Education, for three year periods and are eligible for re-appointment.<sup>6</sup> Its functions are to advise on all matters pertaining to the colleges; to recommend to the Minister the appointment of members to the Boards of Governors of the colleges; to co-ordinate the work of the local boards at colleges in such areas as development of curricula and setting of fee schedules; and to set a scale of salaries and wages for the various levels of personnel within the colleges.

A third element in the government of the colleges is the Applied Arts and Technology Branch of the Department of Education. This

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4. Campbell. Op.cit p.51.

5. Ibid. p.36.

6. Watson. Op.cit p.21.

Branch acts as the administrative arm of the Minister and works in close co-ordination with the Council of Regents. It is also responsible for assessing the operating and capital budgets submitted by local boards and making recommendations to the Minister. Much of this work is done at the local level by a senior branch officer who is assigned as advisor to the board of college. Another major responsibility is the co-ordination of curricula development. Although each college has local curriculum advisory committees it is necessary to co-ordinate curricula for provincial and national purposes.<sup>7</sup>

#### Alberta

The 1969 Act Respecting the Provincial College System established college boards consisting of 8 persons appointed by the provincial government, three of whom must be the president, an academic staff member nominated by the academic staff association of the college, and a member of the student body nominated by the student council of the five other persons, one must be designated chairman.<sup>8</sup> Colleges became independent of local school divisions and support by local taxation was replaced by provincial financing.<sup>9</sup> The same Act established the Alberta Colleges Commission which replaced a two year old Board of Post-Secondary Education set up in part to investigate and prepare legislation to set up co-ordinative machinery. The Commission consisted of 9 persons - a chairman, the deputy ministers of the departments of education and agriculture, the deputy provincial treasurer and others appointed by the provincial government. The powers of the Commission were extensive, e.g. "regulate or prohibit the extension, expansion or establishment of any service facilities or programme of study by any member of the college system ..... or the establishment of a new school, faculty or department".<sup>10</sup>

The Alberta Colleges Commission paralleled the Alberta Universities Commission. In March 1973 both Commissions were dissolved and

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7. Campbell. op.cit pp.37-38.

8. Ibid. p.38.

9. Campbell. CAUT.

10. Campbell. op.cit p.31.



replaced by a Department of Advanced Education which "was created to establish a mechanism whereby the total requirements of post-school education can be met through a system of diverse institutions and agencies".

The post-school system now includes four universities, six community colleges, the Banff Centre, two institutes of technology, three agricultural colleges, 25 vocational training centres and 60 further education councils. Campbell names the main function of the new department as ensuring "federation through co-ordination", and the provision of broad guidelines for the planning of individual institutions.<sup>11</sup>

#### British Columbia

The close connection of community colleges with school boards has affected the patterns of control and co-ordination.

Following the 1970 amendments to the Public Schools Act, only one category of college whether supported by one school district or the boards of two or more districts was referred to. Every college council now consisted of two members appointed by the government; the district superintendent of schools; school trustees appointed by schools board or boards, the number of which is determined by the government; other members specifically representative of the community appointed by the government. No provision was made for faculty or student representation. The principal himself was removed from voting membership of the college council.<sup>12</sup>

Following the report of the Task Force on the Community College in 1974, further changes in college governance were under consideration including the proposal that colleges be granted corporate status with the college council ensuring there be representation from among students, instructors, support staff at the wider region.<sup>13</sup>

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11. Campbell. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.

12. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada. p.26.

13. See:- Towards the Learning Community, Working Paper on the Community College in British Columbia, Prepared as a Basis for Public Discussion by the Task Force on the Community College, British Columbia Department of Education, Victoria, March 1974.

Two agencies in British Columbia function at a level between the college councils and the Minister of Education, the Division of the University and College Affairs of the Department of Education and the Academic Board for Higher Education. The Division of University College Affairs was created in 1966. It advises and assists the Minister of Education with regard to tertiary education. The Division's Director recommends appointments made by the Minister to college councils and assists in other governmental functions required by the Public Schools Act such as recommending financial allocations, administering student loads, etc. The Director sits on the Academic Board. The Academic Board consists of two members appointed by the Senate of each university and three members appointed by the Minister. The functions of the board are to provide information relating to academic standards and to advise appropriate authorities on orderly academic development of universities and of colleges established under the Public Schools Act.<sup>14</sup>

#### Issues in the Movement Towards Greater Co-ordination and Planning of Higher Education

##### Introduction

While American community colleges received considerable impetus to their development from state master planning, the Canadian community colleges virtually owed their origins to the provincial master plans that lay behind the re-organisation of post-secondary education in the 1960s. Only in British Columbia and Alberta were the junior colleges which were in existence prior to the 1960s, used as models for community colleges. Quebec, Ontario and Saskatchewan in particular broke new ground involving the introduction of community colleges not closely based on pre-existing provincial models, or on the American concept of a junior or community college.

However both the Canadian and American colleges experience similar problems in their relations with centralised governmental machinery for the planning and co-ordination of higher education.

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14. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, pp.26-27.

Of these, two have received close attention - the issues of centralised versus local control and the problem of achieving "parity of esteem" between all sectors of higher education - in four reports reviewed by Campbell in 1975. They are -

1. "The Learning Society" Report of the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, Toronto, Ministry of Government Services, 1972, (otherwise known as the Wright Report).
2. Report of the Nova Scotia Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations, Halifax: Queen's Printer 1974 (otherwise known as the Graham Report).
3. Report of the Task Force on Post-Secondary Education in Manitoba, (otherwise known as the Oliver Report).
4. A Choice of Futures, Report of the Commission on Educational Planning, Edmonton, 1972 (otherwise known as the Worth Report).

Campbell used Dorotea Furth's classification of existing systems of short-cycle education (which includes community colleges) around the world entitled "Short Cycle Higher Education: A Search for Identity". (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Paris 1973).

For the sake of the paper he assumed that systems existed in "every province at the tertiary level and that, by and large, they fall into three categories: unitary, binary and ternary".

The Ontario system of CAATs, designed as a clear alternative to degree granting institutions, is listed as the Canadian prototype of the binary system.

The "ternary" system includes three components: universities, community colleges operating under a "Colleges Act" and including a board of governors, and a third category consisting of institutes of technology, and other specialised institutions and agencies managed directly by a government department. Despite differences, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia are named as provinces with such systems.

The unitary system is confined to Quebec, where the CEGEPs are the third level in a four-tiered provincial system of education.<sup>15</sup>

#### Centralised Versus Local Control

The issue of the proper balance of power between provincial and local authorities is still critical in 1975. Campbell quotes the Wright Report as follows -

1. "How can we 'accept' the need for public accounting of the money spent on education (yet) devise ways of keeping this sound principle from slipping into political intervention or uniform controls that would threaten to stifle, if not to snuff out, the centres of quality and fresh creativity that only a diverse and flexible system of post-secondary education can provide."

On the one hand the colleges see autonomy as a basic necessity for fulfilling their functions; on the other, governments fear that too much autonomy encourages "aspirations of upward mobility (to the status level of a university) to the neglect of the new constituencies colleges were created to serve in".

At this point Campbell adds that the governments can quote the "outstanding reputations achieved by institutes of technology in Western Canada managed from their inception by departments of education", to counter the argument that governments automatically stultify institutions.

However the Wright Report condemns the lack of power within individual colleges to influence major decisions. Quebec seems to be in an even worse situation, while the Oliver Report had this to say on Manitoba:

Rigidity appears to be a key characteristic of all aspects of the community college; the theme running through our recommendations is need for greater flexibility in all facets of the operation of the colleges. One of the sources of the rigidity found in all the colleges is the extreme centralisation of decision-making in the Community.

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15. Campbell. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.

Colleges Division of the Department of Colleges and University Affairs. From all of the colleges and from all constituencies within them we heard complaints about the length of time it takes to introduce a course, to hire staff, receive supplies, as these activities are centralised in the Division. In addition, the individual institutions cannot allocate student assistance in an equitable way because it comes from a bewildering variety of agencies."

British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan however show greater flexibility within their structures. Campbell quotes the Worth Report which claims that the range of educational choice for adults in Alberta is broader than in any other province or state in North America. Saskatchewan's system demands that a college have considerable freedom in working out ways to serve many different rural communities. British Columbia, with its system of colleges partially supported from local taxation, is characterised by a close connection between the colleges and school boards. As in the case of the West Coast systems in the United States, local control is a marked feature.

It is worth noting that in Alberta, the government maintains firm control of the institutes of technology and agricultural schools while allowing the community colleges considerable freedom from central control.

Campbell feels that the issue is not "autonomy versus central direction". He sees it more as a case of discovering the "appropriate balance in the equitable allocation of funds and the need for institutional flexibility without bureaucratic meddling and political intervention". For example, he notes that many boards of governors with their political appointees "have become a bulwark of safe conduct for institutional bureaucracies rather than protectors and promoters of local influence and control". As the Wright Report observes, "the creation of boards with advisory committees has become a legal fiction that has obscured growing governmental control".<sup>16</sup>

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16. loc.cit.

Again we can see an interesting parallel with the criticisms made of the local boards of control in American community colleges.<sup>17</sup>

Finally Campbell notes that institutes of technology with more restricted clientele have in some cases more imaginatively and responsibly served the students than colleges equipped with a board of governors. Such a statement invites speculation on the model of the urban community college proposed by Grede. He suggested that more specialist functions would have the advantage of giving colleges a more precise image in the community, a clearer sense of purpose and, by implication, would help solve the "identity crisis". Unfortunately the lack of research as noted by Campbell limits the possibility of discussing such ideas within the Canadian context.<sup>18</sup>

#### Parity of Esteem: the Dominance of the University

Campbell argues that "a value scale that would confine higher education exclusively to universities and implies that all else is 'lower' is scarcely acceptable in a contemporary approach to mass higher education."

He notes however, that colleges are still in the process of finding a place in existing structure of post compulsory education. "Their search is obstructed by the almost universal practice of measuring the worth of each college in the terms applied to that most prestigious, powerful and entrenched institution at the tertiary level, the university."

He quotes the Wright Report -

"We suspect the real problem lies neither in the imposition of an artificial uniformity on the whole of the post-secondary education, nor in any decreed comparability of academic quality. What is needed is parity of esteem."

The question remains how it is to be achieved. Ontario, with

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17. See:- Moore, William Jnr., "The Community College Board of Trustees: The Question of Competency", Journal of Higher Education 44,73, pp.171-190.

Ashby, Eric. Any Person, Any Study, The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1971, pp.75-76.

18. Campbell. loc.cit.

its binary system, in Campbell's opinion, appears to be failing in this respect. He quotes Anisef's study of Grade 12 students' future plans conducted in 1973 which pointed to a difference in social class background amongst those aiming for university as opposed to CAAT further studies.

Campbell concedes that Canadian society has "an obsession with degrees". In view of this he feels that the CAATs should be different and "possess a standard of excellence comparable, say, to the degree administered.... by the Council for National Academic Awards in the United Kingdom. Until some state authority other than universities grants degrees for which colleges .... might prepare students, parity of esteem<sup>19</sup> between a wide diversity of post school institutions will not be possible".

A similar position for different reasons was adopted a year earlier in a report entitled "Towards 2000" which was prepared for the committee of Presidents of Universities of Ontario. It noted that some of the pressures for setting up CAATs arose from numbers graduating from what was called the "four year stream" in the high schools - a programme with a practical rather than academic emphasis. They felt that with the shift away from streaming towards greater individual choice in schools, such pressures may dissipate. They therefore recommended that the entire post-secondary educational system be looked at "as one of linked continua in which there must be no dead-end streets".<sup>20</sup>

Logically they thought there were four alternatives for the CAATs in their more flexible system -

1. They be allowed to grant their own degrees.
2. Affiliation with the university.

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19. Ibid.

20. Towards 2000: The Future of Post Secondary Education in Ontario, from the Report prepared for the Committee of Presidents of Universities of Ontario by its Sub-Committees on Research and Planning presented as a brief to the Commission on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, published by McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971, p.66.

3. They be permitted to conduct programmes leading to a degree granted by a new tertiary body (perhaps a "university of Ontario").

Others have noted that, despite their apparent independence, the CAATs are being encouraged by their own staff as well as parts of the community to become more closely associated with university education. In 1974 William Ladyman, the past president of the International Brotherhood of Workers, stated - "I do not believe that community or technical colleges should be used as a back door into university, but many students can and do use this programme as a university preparatory vehicle. There can be no doubt that many of the faculty and some of the top administration in our colleges are actively supporting this trend." He quoted Eric Ashby who warned of the dangers of American community colleges becoming vassal-institutions in their relations with the universities, or becoming seduced by what he called "educational inflation" - the process of chasing university status.<sup>21</sup>

Lipkin suggests that one of the reasons for the failure of CEGEPs to become more egalitarian is the "high degree of significance given to the university degree as a symbol of educational achievement and social status". He reinforces the point by stating that "unlike the junior college, which serves as an auxiliary path to the university and performs a 'cooling out' function by gradually diverting its students to appropriate non-degree pursuits, the CEGEPs must bear the entire brunt of the pressures within the province for attaining university degrees; hence the 'academic tilt' phenomenon operates to a much greater extent in this case". Students at a CEGEP enrol in either the general or the professional stream. Transfer from one stream to the other or to different programmes within streams occurs infrequently. Student evaluation is based on the mastery of the content of the subjects pursued. The "academic tilt" also applies to the professional or non-university stream. "Not only are common admission standards applied .... but the

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21. Ladyman, William. "He is best Educated, Who is Most Useful", Canadian Vocational Journal, 10,3, November 1974, pp.9-13.



curricula in both streams closely resembles those leading to a Bachelors Degree in other North American colleges and universities. Although the professional stream was originally intended to be terminal, its competitive academic nature has inevitably led to demands for degree status on the part of successful students, culminating in the creation of a new institution which will provide a two-year programme, after graduation from the professional stream, leading to a Bachelors Degree in Technology." The drop-out rate is even higher in the professional compared with the general stream.

Lipkin quotes reports of an attrition rate of over 50%, and points out that these people are not qualified or certified to gain any type of employment. He also suggests that the general stream should be able to offer a terminal certificate so that students could have a socially approved alternative to completing the full five years required for a degree - two years at college followed by three at the University.<sup>22</sup>

Presumably he has in mind a qualification similar to the American Associate Degree. Despite the differences, the CAATs of Ontario and the CEGEPs of Quebec face a similar problem of how to avoid the "dead-end streets" of post-secondary education. Campbell summarises the situation in Ontario as follows -

"And so arises a critical question for Ontario; instead of having two solitudes, is it desirable and is it possible to organise a tertiary level of education as a process that is flexible and reversible rather than irreversible and mutually exclusive? Could such a system establish admission to its different parts by criteria more objective than educational background and social origin?"<sup>23</sup> By implication he is also asking if it is possible to create a system of tertiary education whose component parts have "parity of esteem".

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22. Lipkin, John P. "The 'Academic Tilt' in Quebec Post-Secondary Education", Canadian and International Education 1, 3, June 1974, pp.53-60.

23. Campbell. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.

The Albertan junior colleges particularly prior to the setting up of the Alberta College Commission in 1969, showed a strong unchecked preference for conducting academic transfer courses and for chasing university status.

Lethbridge Junior College led the field in 1964, it requested permission to offer second year transfer courses. It also suggested that "junior" be deleted from the Public Junior Colleges Act so that junior colleges might eventually teach at the batchelors degree level.

In 1965-66 the Act was amended as requested with the proviso that students attend the final year on university campus and that credit be granted for no more than 10 courses. It also stipulated that courses had to be counterparts of those provided at the University of Alberta, and that instructors for second year studies had to have qualifications substantially beyond the Master's Degree in the subject of instruction.

Local pressures continued to push for Lethbridge Junior College to achieve university status - a move viewed with alarm by Dr. Andrew Stewart, the then Chairman of the Universities Commission who argued there would be problems in combining university and technical-vocational activities in the same organisation.

In 1967 the University of Lethbridge was formed though a separate junior college was set up at Lethbridge without a transfer vote and with greater emphasis on technical-vocational and terminal courses.

In defence of Lethbridge Junior College and other colleges with similar objectives, Cecily Watson noted that provincial government funding tended to be much more generous for transfer than technical programmes.<sup>24</sup>

However Campbell clearly viewed the Alberta Colleges Commission, whose primary role was the co-ordination of post-secondary education, as being successful in moving the community colleges away from the university model. He claimed "a prodding College's Commission transformed Alberta's

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24. Watson. New College Systems, pp.24-28.

Colleges from being feeder stations to a university into serving a variety of publics".

Checking the aspirations of the community colleges did not solve the problem of creating a "flexible and reversable" system with component parts enjoying equal status. The Alberta Colleges Commission paralleled the existing Universities Commission thereby perpetuating "the clearages between the university, the community colleges and the variety of other institutions managed directly by the provinces' Department of Education".<sup>25</sup>

Following the publication of "A Choice of Futures", Report of the Commission on Educational Planning, Edmonton, in 1972 (known as the Worth Report), the government opted for the creation of a "fully federated system". It is at this point that it disbanded both the University Commission and the Colleges Commission and set up the Department of Advanced Education. The concept of a "fully federated system" carries the clear connotation that comprehensiveness of educational service resides within the total system rather than in individual institutions, and that the system as a whole must be highly flexible permitting a considerable degree of interchange of students between institutions within its boundaries.

Towards that end, Alberta has also created the Council On Articulation And Transfer with the task of accepting and acting on "delegated authority, previously residing exclusively in colleges and universities, concerning the transfer of students between institutions on the basis of credit".

At first sight it would appear that the problem of creating conditions for greater "parity of esteem" could be alleviated by creating an all-embracing authority, such as the Department of Advanced Education supported by administrative devices such as the Council On Articulation And Transfer, but not presumably without increasing the power of central authority. It remains to be seen whether Alberta can solve one set of problems, caused by status inequalities between institutions, without accentuating issues involved in the distribution of power between institutional parts of the system and its central authority.

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25. Campbell. loc.cit.

CHAPTER 10COMMUNITY COLLEGE CHARACTERISTICS, POLICIES AND PERFORMANCEGeneral Characteristics

In 1971 Campbell surveyed college publications and drew up the following synthesis of the characteristics of an ideal Canadian community college -

"A college is seen as being neither a junior university nor as an upward extension of a high school, but rather the new social invention whole and legitimate in its own right. Its uniqueness stems in part from its liberal admission policy. Its doors are open not only to the university bound but also to those seeking vocational training in preparation for a career. Through short courses and other programmes of continuing education, it tries to serve the entire community. These are kept to a minimum so as not to penalise less affluent students. Colleges try to lower the sociological and psychological barriers which deter some students from acquiring further education. Because a college is a sorting-out centre offering many choices of further education, counselling services are emphasized. Faculty are hired not so much for the degrees they possess as for knowledge of their profession and their skill in teaching. Flexibility is a quality sought after in order that the college may respond to the changing requirements of industry, the community and the students."<sup>1</sup>

In 1974 Campbell spoke of the "evolving identity" of community colleges in Canada which "exhibit in varying degrees - ease of access, comprehensiveness, community outreach, emphasis upon the teaching/learning process, commitment to flexibility."

He noted that the term "comprehensive" has no meaning across

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1. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, p.8.

Canada. In Alberta and British Columbia, for example, it implies a curriculum including two years of university level studies, career programmes leading directly to employment, remedial-developmental programmes and a variety of recreational, thematic and general educational studies. In Ontario, colleges explicitly provide a vocational alternative to universities. In this case comprehensive means a range of remedial, general and technical studies, and training leading to almost every other destination other than a university.

Institutes of Technology, Agricultural colleges, Marine Schools are not included in the legislation governing community colleges. Campbell points out that "however specialised, they are certainly comprehensive vocational colleges and, as such, are included in a broad definition of community college".

The term "community" in a college title also had no common meaning. Some colleges specialised in programmes of local interest for example. For others the community to be served was the province or even the nation. Most, especially when considering the local part-time student or mature student over 18 (20 in Quebec) regard "community" as meaning "the promise to promote the cultural, intellectual and social life of the district above and beyond regularly scheduled day and evening classes".

Campbell found that Canadian community colleges had adopted most and in some cases, all of the following educational functions:

1. Preparation for entry or re-entry directly into employment.
2. Preparation, after pre-professional education, for transfer to a university.
3. Remedial and general education for students of all ages.
4. General services of a wide variety for the community.
5. Counselling services.
6. Particular concern for the part-time student. <sup>2</sup>

There are indications that nationally the movement in Canada

is away from specialised to more comprehensive institutions within post-secondary sectors.<sup>3</sup> Given this trend it could be that Canadian colleges, particularly those already diversifying their educational functions, will not evolve roles that can be clearly and consistently defined. Like their American counterparts they could be facing an "identity crisis" rather than an "evolving identity" as suggested by Campbell.

Unfortunately on this matter and many other issues on the nature and functions of Canadian community colleges there has been a serious shortage of research. Campbell admits that "from a Canadian perspective, the lack of in-depth analyses and the shortage of statistical information about the operation of colleges is something of a disgrace".<sup>4</sup>

### Purposes

#### Quebec

The purpose of Quebec community colleges is "to establish a new level, clearly separate from the secondary and higher education sector and complete in itself, to cover all pre-university liberal education for youth as well as vocationally-oriented education".<sup>5</sup>

Lipkin argues the CEGEP has three aims -

1. To raise the educational levels throughout the province by encouraging continued education beyond the 11th grade through the 13th year for the greatest possible number of students.
2. To make education more functional, particularly in terms of its contribution towards the economy, by promoting and providing programmes in the professional or career sector.
3. To bring about greater equality of access to further education on the part of all citizens regardless of language, sex, geographical location, ethnic or economic background.<sup>6</sup>

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3. See:- Campbell. op.cit. p.76, and  
Towards 2000, p.19.

4. Campbell. CAUT.

5. Watson. New College Systems, p.31.

6. Lipkin. Canadian and International Education.

## Ontario

Cecily Watson quotes the Minister of Education for Ontario in May 1965 -

"We now have accepted the principle of secondary education for all.

We probably now must recognise the inevitability of some form of post-secondary education (i.e. beyond grade 12) for all capable of profiting from it."

Still on Ontario she quotes the Director of the Applied Arts and Technology Branch of the Department of Education on the purposes of CAATs as being -

"To provide a valid alternative to university education for students who do not wish to attend university and to provide a second chance for students not initially qualified to enter university."<sup>7</sup>

The 1965 legislation spelt out three main responsibilities for the CAATs - "To provide courses of types and levels beyond, or not suited to, the secondary school setting; to meet the needs of graduates from any secondary school programme, apart from those wishing to attend university; and to meet the educational needs of adults and out-of-school youth whether or not they are secondary school graduates."

University transfer courses were not mentioned as a responsibility, though no attempt was made to categorically rule against the possibility of such a development.<sup>8</sup>

According to Campbell the legislation was based on four principles -

1. The colleges must embrace total education, vocational and avocational, regardless of formal entrance qualifications;
2. They must develop curricula which meets the combined cultural aspirations and occupational needs of the students;
3. They must operate in closest possible co-operation with business and

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7. Watson. op.cit. p.32.

8. Ibid. p.20.

industry and with social and other public agencies to ensure that curricula are at all times abreast of the changing needs of a technological society.

4. They must be dedicated to research not only in curricula but in pedagogical techniques and administration.<sup>9</sup>

Campbell argued that the CAATs were not copies of American junior colleges. "There is still no university-transfer route within the Ontario system although the universities of Ontario have agreed to admit with advanced standing college graduates on the basis of individual merit. The emphasis, however, is upon the so-called career student, the student being prepared by the CAAT system for para-professional occupations in business, industry and public services of all kinds."<sup>10</sup>

#### Alberta

The Albertan Provincial Board of Post-Secondary Education regards the Albertan Community College as "An institution designed primarily to serve persons who cannot, need not, or do not wish to attend the universities (excluding those in transfer courses) and who normally cannot be expected to return to public high school."

According to the Chairman of the Alberta Colleges Commission in August 1970 -

"The Public College in Alberta is a truly comprehensive two-year post-secondary educational institution providing training and education for students of a wide range of interests, aptitudes and types of intelligence."

The Chairman also lists the following functions for the colleges -

1. To broaden the base of higher education in Alberta;
2. to ease the problem of access to higher education;
3. to advise students according to their capabilities;

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9. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada. p.36.

10. Campbell. CAUT.



4. To provide a "salvage" function to those students who have dropped out of school;
5. to assist students to adjust their aspirations in ways that make their potential and the requirements of specific programmes compatible;
6. to serve in some geographical locations as a cultural centre for the community in which it exists." <sup>11</sup>

#### British Columbia

British Columbian tertiary education has evolved at a steady pace rather than as a result of dramatic and drastic re-organisations as in Quebec and Ontario. It is harder therefore to point to an Act in one year which makes a full statement of philosophy and policy for community colleges.

Macdonald's report in 1962 gave great impetus to the development of a system for tertiary education for the whole province, but it did not give birth to community colleges as such, nor a policy of a "fully federated system" as in Alberta.

Studies by Dennison and his colleagues and reports such as "Towards The Learning Community" by the Task Force in 1974 indicate there is a greater interest in examining the actual performances of the community colleges as measured against objectives, both implied and formerly stated, rather than in analysing and possibly questioning the objectives themselves.

One of these objectives, probably influenced by the philosophies underlying American West Coast community colleges, is that the British Columbian colleges must serve the "total community". The 1974 Task Force for example justified proposals for corporate status and wider representation on councils on these very grounds.

"Total Community" also carries the connotation that there must be college programmes available at low cost for all no matter where they live. The Task Force made special mention of three "special areas of

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11. Watson. op.cit p.32.

concern" - isolated areas - and recommended that there be more colleges to serve them.<sup>12</sup> Dennison and his colleagues list in passing "maximum decentralisation of facilities to increase geographic accessibility", and low fees as among the more important common features of the community colleges in British Columbia.<sup>13</sup>

Finally the way this policy can be met is conditioned partially by an "open admissions" policy to which the colleges are publicly committed. Again performances in relation to this policy rather than an analysis of the policy's implications, for example, seem to be the primary concern.<sup>14</sup>

#### Summary

Despite different emphases there seems agreement across Canada on the following purposes for community colleges:

1. to broaden the base of higher education,
2. to increase and facilitate access to higher education,
3. to provide curricula that is more comprehensive than has been the case traditionally.

#### The Effects of Admission Policies

With the exception of the CEGEBs of Quebec and to some extent the CAATs of Ontario, most Canadian community colleges claim to have "open door" admission policies. These policies tend to include the following assumptions according to Campbell:-

"low cost to students, psychological accessibility; diversified curricula; the option of leaving traditional academic pursuits temporarily to gain

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12. Towards The Learning Community, Working Paper on the Community College in British Columbia Prepared as a Basis for Public Discussion by the Task Force on the Community College, British Columbia Department of Education, Victoria, March 1974. pp.8-14.
  13. Dennison, John D., Tunner Alex, Jones Gordon and Forrester Glen G. The Impact of Community Colleges: A Study of the College Concept in British Columbia, B.C. Research, Vancouver, Canada, November 1975, p.10.
  14. Towards The Learning Community, p.21.

learning through other experience; careful counselling; the opportunity to change direction while in college; more educational scope and thus more career possibilities for the part-time student beyond the conventional school age".<sup>15</sup>

However, as in the case of American community colleges, there is or has been, some degree of divergence between rhetoric and reality on this matter.

A special Task Force on the Community College conducted by the British Columbia Department of Education in 1974 noted that despite the existence of flexible open door admission policies in the province's community colleges, there was considerable institutional variation in admission practices which resulted in some inequalities. It recommended standardisation of admission policies but not a total commitment to the open door policy - "anyone over the age of 18 should be admissible, as should anyone who has secondary school graduation or its equivalent. Persons who do not meet these requirements may be admitted under special conditions. Any applicants who are refused admission shall have the right to appeal to a broadly based internal admissions committee of the college".<sup>16</sup>

The parallels with the Californian situation are not quite complete. Students in California have the right of open entry to a community college by law.<sup>17</sup> Clearly the Task Force was not prepared to go that far, preferring to make a recommendation that would leave the final say on admission policy with the college.

The same policy in the case of colleges offering university transfer programmes raises the interesting question of whether there is an implicit "cooling-out" policy in practice.<sup>18</sup>

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15. Campbell. CAUT.

16. Towards the Learning Community, p.21.

17. A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960-1975, p.70.

18. See:- Clark. The Open Door College.

In the case of British Columbia, Dennison noted in 1975 that the numbers of students transferring from community colleges to the University of British Columbia had increased considerably since 1966, and commented that, as a result, the colleges would not be performing the function of relieving pressure on universities.<sup>19</sup>

A "colling-out" function also seems to be implied in the statement by the Chairman of the Alberta Colleges Commission that one of the functions of the college is "to assist students to adjust their aspirations in ways that make their potential and requirements of specific programmes compatible".<sup>20</sup>

Similarly Campbell's seventh trend on the present and future position of community colleges reads - "Increasing appreciation of the value of community colleges as centres where students can reconcile aspirations with realistic educational goals".<sup>21</sup>

Lipkin, when comparing a CEGEP with a junior college "which serves as an auxiliary path to the university", actually referred to the "cooling-out" function of the latter.<sup>22</sup>

However, such statements cannot maintain the thesis that a junior or community college in British Columbia for example, performs a "cooling-out" function by gradually "diverting its students to appropriate non-degree pursuits" without considerable further study and research.

In the case of Quebec, Denis and Lipkin have concluded that the imposition of restrictive academic criteria for admission has had the effect of barring "a substantial portion of the relevant age group from education beyond the 11th grade".<sup>23</sup> They note that, though the problem of accessibility is being increasingly discussed by CEGEP educators, the argument that a public institution which represents the sole educational

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19. Dennison and others. The Impact of Community Colleges, p.89.

20. Watson. New College Systems, p.32.

21. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, p.76.

22. Lipkin. Canadian and International Education.

23. Denis, Ann, and Lipkin John. "Quebec's CEGEP: Promise and Reality" McGill Journal of Education, 7, Fall 1972, pp.119-134.

opportunity beyond the 11th year of schooling, should be free and open to all has not gained widespread support throughout the province generally and in the CEGEPs specifically.

Two CEGEPs are major exceptions to the trend. One Francophone CEGEP accepts a certain number of students without minimum admission requirements on conditional acceptance. The other, an Anglophone CEGEP, discriminates in favour of applicants who are from low income families, or who are black, or Canadian Indian.

Denis and Lipkin believe it would not be an easy step for the CEGEPs to become universal institutions overnight. They feel that "of all of the demands placed on the CEGEPs, those which emanate from the university pose the greatest obstacles to the CEGEPs fulfilling their intended purpose. Perhaps what is needed is a renewed emphasis on the distinctive roles of the CEGEPs and university, respectively, with the former stressing the overall training and development of the individual and the latter placing greater emphasis on the rigorous pursuit of more advanced knowledge".<sup>24</sup>

Ontario presents a more moderate position on the issue of "open door" policies, though the statement by the Minister of Education in 1965 that post-secondary education must inevitably be provided "for all capable of profiting from it" suggests reservations about the nature and extent of openness. Again there is insufficient data to make it possible to examine this point further.

### Students

In 1971 Campbell conceded there was no such thing as a "typical" college student. However, for academic reasons he set up the following stereotype based on various studies.

"Most students are unmarried, are between 18 and 25 years of age, male, graduates or near graduates from high school, and are enrolled in a two-year diploma course or a two-year university-level programme preparatory to transferring to a university. Usually they live in the same town

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24. Loc.cit.

as their parents.<sup>25</sup> In the same year he noted there were twice as many students enrolled full-time in vocational programmes as there were in university-parallel programmes in Canada taken as a whole.<sup>26</sup>

This is virtually the exact opposite of the American situation where Ashby, also in 1971, pointed out that 75% of community college students were enrolled in transfer courses.<sup>27</sup>

Campbell also noted that in Quebec women comprise half the total full-time enrolments in vocational programmes and only slightly less than half in the university route within the CEGEP. In Saskatchewan half the full-time students were women. However, elsewhere the number of women enrolling was lower, amounting to only a quarter in the case of full-time students at CAATs.<sup>28</sup>

The research by Dennison and his colleagues on the British Columbian community college consists of several studies of a wide range of issues affecting college life.

One of the studies - a socio-economic profile - showed that the students in community colleges were more heterogeneous than those in a university or technical institute, that transfer students are more similar to direct entry university students, but that the colleges were still not attracting a full representative sample. Significant variations in all socio-economic variables used in the study were noted between regional and provincial levels.<sup>29</sup>

Another survey indicated that the British Columbian colleges do not appeal to as broad a cross section of the community as rhetoric suggests. Lower income groups in communities studied were less aware of the community college than the middle and upper income groups.<sup>30</sup>

These findings, combined with the comments on admission policies by the Special Task Force suggest that the colleges still have a lot

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25. Campbell. Convergence.

26. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, pp.9-10.

27. Ashby. Any Person, Any Study, p.10.

28. Campbell. Loc.cit.

29. Dennison and others. The Impact of Community Colleges, p.35.

30. Ibid. p.104 and 158.

of progress to make if they are to reach the "total community".

It also appears that the colleges of applied arts and technology in Ontario are not performing their role of providing an alternative considered equal to that of university education. Campbell quotes Anisef's study of Grade 12 students' future plans conducted in 1973 which found that - "Students who plan on enrolling in universities differ markedly from all other groups of students. They tend to be male, rank high on social class background, come from urban areas in Ontario, believe they have the ability to graduate from university (and have the grades to back up this claim) and possess higher occupational aspirations than students with other types of intentions. Thus students who plan on entering a CAAT contrast sharply ... proportionately more tend to be female; they come from less prestigious backgrounds and possess fewer illusions concerning their ability to graduate from the university or obtain very prestigious jobs. Their grade point averages also tend to be lower than that of the university-bound students."<sup>31</sup>

Lipkin quotes the following attendance and non-attendance patterns to show that the CEGEPs is not providing a service to enough people. "25% of the normal entry age population is not eligible for admission as a result of their not successfully completing secondary school (11%), or their being enrolled in terminal secondary programmes (14%). Of those (75%) who are theoretically eligible for admission, 30% either do not apply or are not accepted.

Thus 45% of the relevant age group enter the CEGEP. Upwards of 30% of those who enter fail to complete any programme successfully. In summary if the present entry and success rates of the CEGEPs continue, less than one out of three of the youth of the province can anticipate graduation from the CEGEPs."<sup>32</sup>

In recent years, as in the United States, student enrolment patterns in higher education have begun to change. Enrolments from

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31. Campbell. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.

32. Lipkin. Canadian and International Education.

the traditional source - high school graduates - shows some sign of levelling off despite earlier expectation otherwise.

The Committee of Presidents of Universities of Ontario observed "significant" trends from 1965 to 1971 and assumed there would be an increase in part-time enrolments at universities, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute and CAATs.<sup>33</sup> However, by the end of 1977 there had been an unexpected drop in graduate enrolment though the Ontario community colleges were still reporting increases in student numbers.<sup>34</sup>

Without further research it is not possible to say whether community colleges generally are about to experience the same levelling off or even reduction of enrolments as in the case of the Universities throughout Canada. Further there is no way of assessing whether or not CAAT enrolments are likely to maintain their rates of increase and, if so, whether this is due to their strong technological rather than university-transfer orientation.

A comparison between the enrolment patterns of the CAATs and the university-transfer oriented colleges of Alberta could throw light on the situation. Regrettably information of this kind is not readily available. Campbell gives a hint that the Albertan colleges are being affected by changing enrolment patterns when he states that "with the publication of the Worth Report and the levelling of growth patterns, there is a determination to infuse quality into the educational performance in every compartment of the structure".<sup>35</sup>

There is evidence from Quebec that more women are enrolling in college programmes again suggesting some but perhaps minor evidence of parallels between the Canadian and American situation.<sup>36</sup>

Denis and Lipkin have added a caution against the possible

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33. Towards 2000, pp.19-20.

34. "Ontario prepares for a new round of retrenchment", T.H.E.S., 2.12.77, p.5.

35. Campbell. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.

36. For data on recent trends in the enrolment of women into American community colleges see Community Junior and Technical College Directory 1978, American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Washington D.C., p.2.



conclusion that when access to higher education is facilitated by the provision of free, regional, or local opportunities for continued studies, attendance rates seem to be similar for males and females. They pointed out that the proportion of females in attendance at different CEGEPs range from 30% to 60%. This range is too big to justify such a conclusion without further qualification. They also pointed out that specific programmes may influence the female enrolment. The inclusion of nursing programmes, for example, may help to account for the relative high proportion of women enrolling in the professional vocational sector.<sup>37</sup>

On the question of student performance, Dennison's study again gives valuable information as far as British Columbia is concerned. He and his colleagues examined the progress of transfer students from a community college to the University of British Columbia. They noted that such students improve their achievement in the second and subsequent years although there are variations in the rate of improvement according to faculty. They could not explain this but speculated that it may be a combination of two reasons - "lessening of transfer shock" and "the survival of the fittest". The latter indicates poor students drop out, but unfortunately little data was available to pursue the matter in greater depth.

They also compared the performance of students who entered university directly with those who transferred from the community colleges and found direct entry students tended to perform better, though Dennison argued this was only marginal - "no more than one or two percentage points".<sup>38</sup>

Dennison's data is possibly less valuable for comparisons of student performances in community colleges throughout Canada than for comparisons between students in British Columbia and the American West Coast. Campbell has pointed out that the faculty of British Columbian colleges tends to be more highly qualified than in other Canadian provinces

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37. Denis and Lipkin. McGill Journal of Education.

38. Dennison and others. The Impact of Community Colleges, p.96.

and that British Columbia compared with the rest of Canada has the highest school retention rate and educational level in its labour force.<sup>39</sup>

However, his finding that only 40% of employers covered in a survey were prepared to pay college graduates higher starting salaries than what they paid to secondary school graduates<sup>40</sup>, combined with Campbell's observation that CAAT graduates tend to get inferior employment opportunities compared with university graduates<sup>41</sup>, suggests community college programmes are not as well received in the business community as expected. It also reaffirms that the CAATs are not succeeding as yet in providing an educational service that is seen to be equal as well as an alternative to what the universities can offer.

#### Professional Staff Attitudes

Apart from general statements made by commentators such as Campbell and Ladyman on attempts by CAAT administrators and faculty to take on degree work, the only detailed study on college faculty attitudes in Canada similar to the ones by Medsker in the United States has been conducted by Dennison et. al., on British Columbian community colleges in 1975.

They surveyed attitudes and opinions of 700 out of 1400 faculty members in seven participating colleges. Of those in transfer programmes, half of them were teaching in the fields of the social sciences and humanities and one quarter primarily in the sciences. One fifth did not possess masters degrees which were considered minimum requirements for teaching in this area. They had either a bachelors degree or public school teaching certificate. 17% had doctoral degrees. In the vocational and career/technical areas, nearly half came from either business or industry compared with 27% of transfer teachers and 10% in other fields who came from the public school system. The majority of staff (about 95%) did not favour being under the Public School Act. They clearly

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39. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, pp.29-30.

40. Dennison and others. op. cit p.158.

41. Campbell. The Canadian Journal of Higher Education.

favoured a separate College Act. They tended to be less sure of the role of students in the formulation of policy, though they conceded that they should have some voice in principle. Surprisingly less than one third were in favour of faculty participation on college councils. The administrators were even less enthusiastic. 90% rejected direct appointment on to college councils, favouring more a combination of elections and appointment, or elections only.

They supported the idea of teaching ability being the prime consideration in promotion and salary matters. Professional qualifications were seen as very important, but research and scholarly or technical ability were only of medium importance. The concept of community service in British Columbian colleges ranked low.

The overall impression is that the British Columbian college staff would fit in well with most American community colleges, particularly the Californian colleges. For example 75% of the teachers and 85% of administrators supported the comprehensive multi-purpose approach to the curriculum in British Columbian colleges. A typical programme contains the following features -

- university transfer courses,
- para-professional or technology programmes,
- trade and vocational programmes,
- continuing education for adults,
- basic skill and remedial education.<sup>42</sup>

It is obvious however that there is a need for considerable research in this as in other areas of study of the Canadian community college movement.

### Summary

#### The Need for Research

Clearly there is need for more research to ensure fuller analyses of the functions and dynamics of Canadian community colleges and, in particular, for the evaluation of performance as measured against stated and perhaps implied objectives. In 1974 Campbell said "The 1970s require a continuous study of a model or models against which to test the

42. Dennison and others. op.cit. pp.112-123.

effectiveness of particular types of institutions in achieving societal goals. We have seen (and are seeing) the creation of entirely new provincial systems of post-school education to serve a new clientele. Lacking in most provinces prior to the creation of these college systems was a carefully constructed long-range plan. Federal money was found to be available; politicians decided that more institutions were needed and suggested that more was better .... Impressive as more is, however, the net effect is not known".

Also -

"Little effort has been made on a national basis to study the flow of students through secondary school into various types of institutes, colleges and universities and from there to employment. From a Canadian perspective, the lack of in-depth analyses and the shortage of statistical information about the operation of colleges is something of a disgrace. Very little is known about the mature adult students - where they have come from - why they are studying and what they are going to do. Greater scope and intensive institutional research and provincial analysis are required throughout the country."<sup>43</sup>

Some of the areas requiring much deeper analysis include the possibility of a relationship between diversification of functions and an identity crisis for the colleges; the issue of establishing "parity of esteem" between community colleges and other areas of higher education; the ideal balance between central and local control given egalitarian objectives; the performance of the colleges in increasing accessibility to higher education, the implications of changing enrolment patterns; student attitudes and performances given varying social and economic backgrounds and a trend for intakes to be composed of broader age ranges; business and community attitudes towards the nature and value of an education at a community college.

#### The Gap Between Rhetoric and Reality

Despite the need for greater research, it is possible in general

terms to detect that the colleges are not meeting some of their objectives, despite statements suggesting greater success.

Echoing similar criticisms made of the American community college system by Gleazer, Harlacher, Griffith and Myran for example, e.g. Campbell stated that "the performance of colleges in community outreach, in programmes for persons beyond the conventional college age, in counselling, in imaginative work/study opportunities for students, need serious examination".

Campbell forcefully argued that colleges must avoid the temptation to become "status quo middle-class organisations". He admitted that "in a word, there are those who seriously question the capacity of colleges, institution-bound as so many are, to provide valid learning alternatives to traditional modes of learning. The notion that colleges are altering class lines in Canada and contributing to the greater social mobility and democratisation of Canadians is a dubious proposition".<sup>44</sup>

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44. loc.cit.

## CHAPTER 11

### THE SASKATCHEWAN EXPERIMENT

The Saskatchewan community college has been described as "an experiment with the college as the community and the community as the college".<sup>1</sup> It is an experiment in developing what the Americans call "community service" as the supreme and all-embracing function of a community college.

It is also a development which in the American context is seen by Gleazer as a way of re-defining the field of the community colleges thereby solving their "identity crisis".<sup>2</sup>

The Saskatchewan experiment is in fact of major interest throughout the North American Continent, as an attempt to make the community service function primarily not for a single community college but for a whole system at provincial/state level.

Essentially the experiment is still in its early days and remains to be thoroughly evaluated - another area for serious research.

At this stage, however, it is worth recounting many of the recommendations of the 1972 Report of the Advisory Committee on Community Colleges, since most became accepted as the basis for policy decisions and statements of objectives, as well as the early developments since the fall of 1972.

The general purpose of the Saskatchewan community colleges is to be the maximising of "opportunities for continuing education through a decentralisation of formal adult learning opportunities and the organisation of programmes at a community and regional level to meet informal

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1. Riederer. College Perspective '75.

2. See:

Gleazer. "After the Boom.....What Now for the Community Colleges", Community and Junior College Journal, and

Gleazer. "Beyond the Open Door: The Open College". Community and Junior College Journal.

learning needs". Also "that colleges be developed on a regional basis with priority in development to be given to rural areas".

The Committee noted the extent of under-used school and community facilities throughout the province. It took the opportunity of recommending "that community colleges offer programmes in existing school and community facilities obtained on a rental basis rather than develop the traditional campus model".<sup>3</sup>

This recommendation was implemented through a policy that denied community college boards the authority to acquire or lease buildings or property without the express approval of the Department of Continuing Education - the re-named Department of Education as of 1st July 1972.<sup>4</sup> The Committee also recommended that community colleges be organised to meet identified needs and be disbanded when the need was met; that they acquire a minimum of permanent staff, acquiring services on a contractual basis as required to meet current programme needs; that they grant no degrees or diplomas; that formal programmes be contracted as required from existing educational institutions; and that certification of formal programmes be the responsibility of the educational agency or institution from which the programme is contracted. To these ends the Committee recommended that "the Department of Continuing Education begins negotiations immediately with the university and technical institutes in order to mobilise extension services more fully and to develop contractual and cost-sharing arrangements for the delivery of programmes through a community college".

The Committee conceded that with decentralisation of courses there would be a need for more local instructors. It counselled against giving in to the urge for professional status and recommended "accrediting

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3. Report of the Minister's Advisory Committee on Community Colleges, Saskatchewan Department of Continuing Education, Regina, August 1972, pp.20-21.

4. Riederer, L.A. "Saskatchewan Community Colleges: A New Service Aimed at Restoration of Community", Canadian Vocational Journal, 9, 4, Winter 1974, pp.25-26.

institutions be encouraged to develop training programmes or accreditation policies whereby local people may be recognised to teach formal programmes".

On informal education it recommended "that non-credit programmes be arranged in co-operation with government departments and other organisations, on an ad hoc basis, in response to individual and community economic, cultural, recreational or social learning needs".

In all cases it recommended "that local persons be involved as fully as possible in instructional and other roles within the college programme".

Regarding relations with libraries it proposed "that the provincial library system function as the resource distribution system for community colleges and that training and financial resources be provided to make this possible". Also "a systematic needs assessment and resource inventory precede the establishment of community college programmes and that these processes be on-going in community college operations".

The Committee took a close look at educational media and recommended "that planning and preparation for development of a co-ordinated system of educational media be undertaken by the Department of Continuing Education to permit maximum accessibility and optimum delivery of learning programmes to Saskatchewan adults". Also "the development of a communications net-work necessary to deliver educational media programmes be rationalised throughout the province".

It felt "that community colleges should be used as the local mechanisms for educational and community programming in any future cable broadcasting system in the province", and "that in the event that any provincial crown corporation be developed for educational broadcasting, it report through the Ministry of Education".<sup>5</sup>

While the first year of the college pilot operations were in progress, a study was undertaken to develop recommendations leading to the formation of an educational communication policy. The idea was to



create an integrated approach to the community college, provincial library and telecommunication policy in so far as it affects education. A number of recommendations were made regarding the establishment of Saskatchewan Educational Communications Corporation to be known as SASKMEDIA.

"SASKMEDIA was to produce, acquire, distribute and sell video-audio film, print and other educational materials. It was to develop a province-wide educational FM radio network to be known as Radio Saskatchewan. Both SASKMEDIA and the education system generally were to encourage the principle of citizen access whereby community-based voluntary associations would be able to use the educational media resources of the education system including programming on Radio Saskatchewan".<sup>6</sup>

The provincial library system was proposed as the provincial media distribution division of SASKMEDIA. It was to act as the library-media distribution system of community colleges. A further recommendation was that a telecommunication network be established between all major libraries for purposes of transmitting not only inter-library loan requests but also community college budgetary data and other information. Community colleges were to act as regional educational communication resource centres. Educational media specialists were to be attached to them who would serve the wider community in a variety of ways.<sup>7</sup>

In May 1974 the Saskatchewan Communications Corporation Act was passed. Initially it is to concentrate on the production of a wide range of educational materials for use in educational cable systems. The Provincial Library will be strengthened to better serve its media distribution role. If these moves are successful the Corporation will then go on to develop educational radio systems.

Saskatchewan has opted for a community college model in which the emphasis is really on community. Faris, the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the Community Colleges, sums up as follows:-

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6. Faris. Colleges Without Walls, p.9.

7. Ibid. p.10.

"The college concept in Saskatchewan is unique in Canadian terms. It has grown from the experience and needs of that province. However, several comparative observations may be useful. Much of its method of operation is based on the university extension model, which grew most rapidly in several provinces during the early 1920s. Its philosophy and approach to learning for rural betterment echoes the concerns of Grundtvig and those in the Danish Folk School Movement who are credited with reviving rural life in that country.

There were more than philosophical influences at work as the Advisory Committee struggled with its task. Saskatchewan was in yet another stage of agricultural recession. The choice was to use existing facilities or do nothing. It was estimated that scrapping buildings and campus-type approaches to college services would save at least 40 million dollars in capital costs as well as millions of dollars in operating expenditures.

Advisory Committee opted for money for programmes rather than for buildings".

He concludes in a speech given before the International Institute on the Community College in Ontario June 1974 - "The colleges without walls in Saskatchewan are founded on a firm historical base, cemented by a tradition of community co-operation and a special breed of dedicated educator in Saskatchewan. Educational traditionalists have predicted that Saskatchewan colleges will devolve into conventional colleges. The Advisory Committee and the Department have attempted to prevent this seemingly inexorable process by structural, legislative and other means. In the end, however, the response of Saskatchewan people will determine the efficacy of their college system".<sup>8</sup>

The Saskatchewan experiment is radical and imaginative though not expensive in terms of capital outlay and general cost. Probably its most radical aspect is the conscious attempt to transfer the primary initiative for the development of higher educational programmes, both

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8. Ibid. pp.11-12.

credit and non-credit, from the control of professional educators to the general community.

It would be very interesting to see how successful this attempt will be, and how such a policy will affect the attitudes of the community to the colleges and the attitudes of the professionally trained educators, both teachers and administrators, to the community.

## CHAPTER 12

### THE FUTURE: TRENDS AND ISSUES

#### General Introduction

In 1971 Campbell noted the following trends -

1. The number of colleges will increase until one exists within commuting distance of almost every city.
2. The increasing establishment of provincial systems of co-ordination and control wherein a number of newly created institutions with older institutions will gather together under one board to become part of a provincially organised network. He noted that half of Canada's provinces had such a system in 1971.
3. A movement towards comprehensive institutions with generalised curricula, and away from specialised colleges.
4. Expansion of programmes available to the part-time day or evening student.
5. Increasing effort to clarify the bases of articulation between community colleges, the universities, and high schools.
6. Greater scrutiny in control of college expenditures by provincial governments.
7. Increasing appreciation of the value of community colleges as centres where students can reconcile aspirations with realistic educational goals.<sup>1</sup>

He also listed what he considered to be the resolved and unresolved issues as at 1971 - "There seems to be agreement on some fundamental principles relating to community colleges, despite variations. These include -

1. The desirability that control be vested in a local board.

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1. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, pp.75-76.

2. Their administration, curricula and facilities be not simply weak copies of traditional higher education.
3. The requirement to have close liaison of the college with community agencies.
4. The importance of having competent professional guidance services.
5. The legitimate clientele of a college to be both the full-time and part-time students.
6. The need to allow students to change their courses of study as required by increased experience.
7. A need for institutions which are post-high school but not necessarily pre-university to have different emphases.
8. The commitment to a philosophy of education based on life-long learning.
9. The importance of developing programmes in Canadian studies.
10. The need to persuade business and industry to give preference to technological graduates over mediocre university graduates.

The unresolved issues currently being debated in Canada are -

1. Who should have the opportunities for education beyond high school?
2. What students remain to be served by colleges?
3. What students presently served by a university might better be served by a college?
4. What if any is the curricular responsibility of a college to a university vis a vis the university-bound student?
5. To what extent should industry be allowed to determine course content and purpose in technological programmes?
6. What kinds of partnerships should be established among colleges in a province and throughout Canada?
7. What are the social responsibilities of a college for the functioning of a democratic society, beyond the mere offering of courses?
8. Should a college campus be dispersed throughout the city?
9. Are the traditional evaluation standards devised for high school and university students applicable to community colleges?

10. What are the objectives of educational research and innovation at the college level?

11. To what extent should the federal or provincial government be involved in the operation of a college? <sup>2</sup>

Even in 1971 and 1972 there was some evidence that the unresolved issues relating to enrolment patterns (particularly Campbell's unresolved issues 1 and 2) were being settled by evolutionary rather than planned processes.

There were clear signs that the percentage of women enrolling in full-time and particularly part-time courses were rising even then. <sup>3</sup>

Given the general patterns of changing enrolments in American community colleges, it seems reasonable to assume that similar trends will occur in Canada. Certainly the authors of "Towards 2000" were most cautious when predicting the rate of increase in enrolments in post-secondary education in Ontario from 1971 up to 1980. They noted that the percentage increase for 1970-71 was lower than for 1960-61, and concluded that a slower rate of increase would continue "unless new factors enter the picture" e.g. increased accessibility; or greatly increased participation of women". <sup>4</sup>

Presumably this is a trend that will engage more of the attention of observers such as Campbell in the future. It may be worth speculating that the Canadian colleges will re-act to static enrolment situations with alarm similar to their American counterparts and attempt to re-define their field of operation or aggressively seek out new sources of students other than the traditional high school graduate.

#### Funding and the Relationship Between Federal Government, the Provincial Governments and the Colleges.

Although the British North America Act of 1867 makes education a provincial responsibility, all Canadian colleges are dependent upon the

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2. loc.cit.

3. Ibid. pp.9-10.

4. Towards 2000, p.60.

federal government as a primary source of funding.. The Technical and Vocational Assistance Act from 1960-67 enables 75% of the costs of technical training facilities and 50% of the operating costs of technical programmes to be met by federal assistance. After 1967 the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act and the Adult Occupational Training Act enabled the Federal Government to pay 50% of the operating costs or \$15 per capita of the provincial population, whichever sum is greater.<sup>5</sup>

Campbell hints that the availability of federal funds for technical and vocational education was a major stimulus to the development of a binary system in Ontario, separating the strongly technologically-oriented CAATs from the Universities.<sup>6</sup> He also states that "Across Canada, the cost of public education is a cause of mounting concern among government officials and the public alike. In relation to colleges, three areas of financial stress can be cited - first, the increasing competition with other social institutions, seeking public favour for governmental support; second, the pressure on colleges to make more efficient use of their fiscal resources; third, the need for adequate financial support for the instruction of part-time students."<sup>7</sup> He also sees federal support increasing for post-school education generally because there are some educational problems which are national in character and require attention at that level, including regional economic disparities, transferability of credits, manpower training, the need for a national college agency or clearing house, and the responsibility of colleges in the transmission of Canadian culture.<sup>8</sup>

In 1974 Campbell turned his attention to the aspect of long-term co-ordination and administration of the colleges and raised five questions, three of which related to the issue of control or influence over college administration. Though not specifically mentioned the reality of increased funding of colleges from provincial and federal

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5. Campbell. Convergence.

6. Campbell. CAUT.

7. Campbell. Convergence.

8. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, p.65.

government sources underpinned the framing of some of the questions.

Campbell felt much more public debate was needed to work out the means through which Canadian colleges and their communities could expedite the national, social and cultural goals as determined by the government of Canada. The five questions that could give rise from this debate were -

1. How is the national concern for trained manpower and the transmission of cultural values to be effected on an on-going basis?
2. How is the public's right to have their community colleges give adequate community services to adults best assured?
3. With increased governmental control, how is local initiative to be maintained?
4. How long do we want the federal government to remain a silent (albeit substantial) partner in the operation of colleges?
5. How can centralisation of decision-making powers increase without losing local distinctiveness and flexibility? <sup>9</sup>

#### Planning The National Community and American Influence

Campbell points to the lack of clarity in the use of "community" particularly in legislation. "It is taken for granted that a college should serve its immediate environment and the province. The national obligations are rarely spoken of." He felt that the colleges could help to meet national economic needs by providing formal programmes of national importance and quotes a Western Canadian college which offers a course in aeronautical engineering although at the time there was no possibility for employment in that field in the immediate community.

Re-training and leisure needs require the co-operation of all educational institutions. He regretted that too often continuing education for adults has tended to become conventional and unimaginative particularly when they become pre-occupied with the young adults. This area must be viewed as a pressing national as well as a regional and local requirement. A national viewpoint would help to encourage extensive experimentation in areas such as day and week release courses in which an



employee is released from his place of work in order to attend classes; co-operative training plans for nationally based industries and residential centres offering persons across Canada opportunities for career advancement and cultural development.

He also believes the lack of a national approach has encouraged the development of educational inequalities reflected in Canadian class structures. He reported that colleges were faced on the one hand with traditional elitism of education, and on the other with strong social pressures to manifest egalitarian values by increasing educational opportunities. Campbell concedes that the American experience might well be the most influential factor accounting for the shape of Canada's colleges, particularly the sophisticated statewide college systems of California, Texas and New York.<sup>10</sup>

Though not specifically mentioning America, Claude Bissell in his forward to the Ontario educational report "Towards 2000" speaks of the danger of a nation losing its cultural independence by not supporting the development of national educational resources. He quotes Bertram Gross - "The State of the Nation: Social System Accounting" (London, Tavistock 1966 page 80) who predicts that different societies will penetrate and intervene in each other's activities and in so doing will create new needs for "trans-national co-operation through new trans-national institutions". In this way "it would be possible for a society to achieve benefits for the future by becoming absorbed in the more rapid advance of another one". By implication cultural independence to some extent depends on "continued expansion of educational opportunity because of the crucial role of knowledge in innovative capacity". The argument concludes "outside the field of science, the development of national culture - in the broad sense of a distinctive way of life as well as distinctive artistic expression - will also depend on the expansion of educational resources".<sup>11</sup>

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10. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, pp.66-67.

11. Towards 2000, pp.9-10.

Emphasis on these arguments highlights the concern Canadians feel for a national identity clearly their own and the cultural as well as economic insecurities they feel in their relations with the United States.

### Technical Versus Comprehensive Colleges

Campbell felt that the question of whether a college should have a dual curriculum offering both university level courses, enabling a student to enter a university in the second or third year and occupational training feeding direct to employment, was clearly one of the over-riding issues in 1971, and he predicted for several years ahead.<sup>12</sup>

In the same year the authors of the report "Towards 2000" claimed that one of the significant trends in Ontario since 1965 was the movement away from single-purpose professional or vocational schools, suggesting that comprehensive colleges were becoming dominant.<sup>13</sup>

The trend towards comprehensiveness in Canadian post-secondary institutions has raised the issue of the future of the Canadian institutes of technology. In Alberta, Saskatchewan and The Atlantic Provinces, the institutes are managed independently of the community colleges and directly by departments of government.

In Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba existing institutes were absorbed into the community college systems. Ryerson Polytechnical College in Ontario was an exception. The institutes of technology in Saskatchewan were refused permission to have the word "college" in their titles "presumably to emphasise their distinctiveness from colleges currently under development". Campbell noted there had been much debate in Alberta on whether to absorb the institutes of technology into the community college system, and that provision had been made for such an eventuality in the Colleges Act, 1969, which was under review in 1974.<sup>14</sup>

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12. Campbell. op.cit, p.71.

13. Towards 2000, p.19.

14. Campbell. CAUT.

### Administrative And Curricula Innovations

Campbell felt the colleges had made significant contributions to tertiary education by revamping their administration and curricula. He reported that some colleges were building new administrative structures and experimenting with them.

### Research On National And Provincial Levels

Campbell praised the efforts of the Canadian Association for Adult Education in its attempt to promote national perspectives in educational discussions.

In 1965 it convened a conference on "adult education in the community colleges" and in May 1966 it arranged a national seminar on "The Community College in Canada" which was attended by 100 representatives from across the country. In 1967 it received a grant of \$200,000 from the American Kellogg Foundation to permit it to enquire into the feasibility of setting up a national organisation or vehicle of some kind which might help Canadians to think about the phenomenon of community colleges on a national level. The Association established the Canadian Commission of Community Colleges and appointed to its board of directors students, local college board members, faculty administrators and others interested in a national perspective. The Commissioners made representations on behalf of the college movement to departments of the federal government, provincial governments and to national agencies.<sup>15</sup>

However, there are still problems to overcome. In 1974 Campbell felt there was now a chance to study creative developments in Canada itself and not rely on American literature and guide-lines, but deplored the limitations placed on inter-provincial contact. He noted that "some provinces virtually forbid out-of-province travel for college personnel".<sup>16</sup>

To date, as already indicated, there is an enormous dearth of research on community colleges in Canada, and what is available tends to

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15. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, p.73.

16. Campbell. CAUT.

be restricted to provincial considerations.

In the short term this may be the most serious problem facing the colleges. Without hard data, debate will be limited to personal opinion, or, worse still given the Canadian concern for developing a national identity, will be dominated by comparisons with the American community colleges on which there is a wealth of comprehensive information and analysis - thereby reinforcing fears of cultural dominance by the United States.

Canadian community colleges, particularly in Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec, show great differences in their structure and purposes compared with American community colleges. In a sense these differences would be more strongly accentuated if comparisons between American and Canadian colleges as well as between colleges in different Canadian provinces were attempted in major studies. They would certainly enhance the understanding of the concept of the community college.

PART IV: ENGLANDGENERAL INTRODUCTION

England has no post-secondary institution equivalent to the junior and community colleges of the United States and Canada. English community colleges are located mainly in the secondary school sector, though some institutions in the further education sector are also loosely referred to as community colleges - notably some of the colleges of further education in Hampshire<sup>1</sup> and the new tertiary colleges.<sup>2</sup> North American colleges on the other hand are formally part of the tertiary sector, though many are still under the same administration as the public high schools.<sup>3</sup>

However, present indications suggest that there are strong pressures for changes in the basic patterns of educational provision in England, particularly at the interfaces between the secondary and further education sectors and the further and higher education sectors.

This part of the thesis therefore will have two objectives - a review of the main pressures combined with speculation on the possibility of institutions emerging at these interfaces with functions comparable to the North American community colleges, as well as a study of the characteristics, functions and performances of these institutions formally classified as English community colleges.

Definitions

Higher education comprises the universities, colleges providing courses for the education and training of teachers (excluding Art Training Centres) and systematic courses of further education beyond the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education or beyond the Ordinary National Certificate or its equivalent.

Further education comprises all institutions (other than universities, colleges of education and those which fall within adult education)

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1. Letter from Hampshire County Education Officer to author dated 7th September, 1977.
  2. King, E.J. "Education for a Communication Society" in SAGE Annual Review of Social and Educational Change, Volume 1, London and Beverley Hills, Sage Publications, 1977. (pp.6-37)p.31.
  3. Gleazer. "New Mandate for co-ordination" in New Directions for Community Colleges, 1974.

providing post-school education within the sphere of responsibility of the Secretary of State for Education and Science.

Adult education comprises the residential colleges of adult education (receiving direct grants from the central government) and courses of a mainly non-vocational character provided either separately, or in conjunction by the extra-mural departments of Universities, the Workers' Educational Association and other voluntary bodies.<sup>4</sup>

Post-school or post-16 education comprises all post-compulsory educational services provided by the schools sectors, known loosely as sixth-form studies, the colleges of further education or technical colleges (including sixth-form studies) and combining of both these areas, either through co-operation of schools and colleges or through tertiary colleges.

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4. As provided by Committee on Higher Education, Higher Education: Report of the committee appointed by the Prime Minister under the chairmanship of Lord Robbins, London, 1963, (known as the "Robbins Report"), cited by Cantor, L.M. and Roberts, F.I. in Further Education in England and Wales, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, p.263.

## CHAPTER 13

### POST-SCHOOL EDUCATION: TRENDS AND ISSUES

#### Introduction: The Importance of the Over-16s

In the period 1961-73 there was an overall increase of 5% in the number of 17 year olds, but a 115% increase in the number of 17 year olds in full-time education. Department of Education and Science statistics showed that there were 28.8% of 17 year olds in full-time education in 1973 as opposed to only 14.1% in 1961.<sup>1</sup>

In 1973 Peterson expressed support for the belief that the introduction of comprehensive education on a wide scale at the secondary level would increase voluntary staying on after the school leaving age. He also predicted the raising of the school leaving age from 15 to 16 would also have a marked impact on those staying on until the age of 17.<sup>2</sup> Edmund King quoted statistics which showed that 31% of those who were "just before the age of 18" were in full-time education in 1977,<sup>3</sup> indicating the trend was still upwards.

He points out that these students are no longer school children but "volunteer adults, some of whom have already returned to study with fresh ideas about life". He views their significance as of "huge importance ..... for our diagnosis of the whole emerging future in education" and comments as follows:- "The mere accommodation of these enrolments has necessitated much alteration of school and college structures. Recognition of new needs in content, teaching methods, laboratory and workshop practice has altered layout and internal organisation. Around the full-time pro-

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1. King, Ronald. School and College: Studies of Post-Sixteen Education, London, Henley and Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, pp.12-13.
  2. Peterson, A.D.C. The Future of the Sixth Form, London and Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973, p.8.
  3. King. Education for a Communication Society, SAGE Annual Review of Social and Educational Change, 1977, p.30.

vision; 'sandwich' or evening courses and various forms of 'recurrent' or broadcast supplementation are an important part of the picture in some countries. The merging of provision for these young adults with extra-scholastic opportunities, or with provisions for older adults, has blurred some previous departmentalisation in school-college systems while sharpening recognition of what really helps teaching and learning".<sup>4</sup>

The reference to "school-college systems" in the case of England refers to the blurring of distinctions between the upper components of secondary schools, particularly sixth form provision, and the colleges of further education.

#### The Location of Sixth Form Studies

Over the past two to three decades there has been a fairly rapid growth of comprehensive secondary schools and a decline in the significance of the maintained grammar school for the education of the 16 - 19 age group. There were 10 comprehensive schools in England and Wales in 1950, 130 in 1960 and 2273 in 1973. In the 1960's a majority of the students aged 16 - 19 were in maintained grammar schools but by 1970 just over half of the 17 year olds were in technical colleges, colleges of further education and comprehensive schools of several kinds.<sup>5</sup> A.D.C. Peterson in 1973 argued that comprehensive secondary education, along with the raising of the school leaving age to 16 and the demand for a more generally educated labour force, was an important factor determining the increase in voluntary staying on into sixth form studies.<sup>6</sup> He listed seven locations for sixth form studies:-

1. "The last two or three years of an academically selected 11-18 grammar school.
2. The last two or three years of a 13-18 school, often independent and selected by wealth, but less selective by attainment.

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4. Loc.cit.

5. King. op.cit. pp.12-18.

6. Peterson. op.cit. pp.8-9



3. The last two or three years of a non-selective 11-18 comprehensive school.
4. Two or three years in a separate academically selective institution, a "sixth form college".
5. Two or three years in a separate non-selective institution, a "junior college".
6. Two or three years in a college of further education.
7. Two or three years in a college combining further education and upper secondary education.<sup>7</sup>

Some commentators do not refer to non-selective "junior colleges" (location 5) and selective "sixth form colleges" (location 4), but simply selective or non-selective sixth form colleges. Finally location 7 is now named "tertiary colleges" of which there were 12 in 1977<sup>8</sup> and 15 in 1978.<sup>9</sup>

In 1973 Peterson viewed the first location as becoming increasingly unmanageable. Staying onto the 6th form in selective grammar schools was then the rule rather than the exception. By implication the same argument applied to the second location.

The third location was supported by Circular 10/65. Peterson also felt there was little future for this option. The all-through comprehensive would have to be very big if it is to produce a viable 6th form. He quotes an ILEA survey in 1968 (Sixth Form Opportunities in Inner London) which suggested a sixth form offering 12 subjects would need between 80 to 90 pupils if no teaching group was to fall below 5. Also there would be a need for a specialist in each subject.

The all-through comprehensive school would not be able to match "30 A levels and a wide range of O level, CSE and vocational courses offered at Southampton College for Girls" an example of what he called

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7. Ibid. p.60.

8. Rowan, Patricia "which way for the sixth former?" in A TES inquiry into alternative forms of full time 16 plus education, T.E.S., 15/7/78, p.8

9. Tertiary Colleges, 1978. Prepared by the Tertiary College Panel Under the Chairmanship of Fred Janes. (Further references unavailable).

a junior college. He concluded that compared with this arrangement "the all-through comprehensives seems like a reversion to the traditional sixth form".<sup>10</sup> Peterson quoted figures to show that more students were taking advanced levels of the G.C.E. at colleges of further education. In 1969 as many as 10% of all A level pupils in the school age range were at colleges, despite pressures to stay at school. He noted the rate was increasing. He also noted that in 1972 the President of the Headmaster's Association (HMA) ended the traditional opposition of schools to the provision of "A" levels in further education by agreeing that 16-19 year olds should have freedom of choice. Given these developments he suggested that the 4th location for the new sixth forms, the academically selective "sixth form college" could allow for "the academic largely pre-university sixth formers" to stay in a sixth form college (as at Stoke) and the remainder could go onto colleges of further education.

The effect of such arrangement would be similar to the introduction of the 11+ test, only this time selection would be occurring at 16. It would also involve some suppression of A level work in colleges of further education. However he feels that such a clear cut demarcation would render "A" level provision in the colleges of further education for a growing number of adults more difficult. He noted there were almost 5,000 of such enrolments in 1969.<sup>11</sup>

The fifth option - 'junior college' - had been chosen by at least ten LEA's by 1973 and according to Peterson many more were being planned at the time. Such colleges have open admission policies for anyone who wishes to remain at school after the age of 16. They tend to offer a wide range of A Levels, O. Levels, the new CEE or vocationally oriented courses often combined with some work experience. Peterson noted at this point - that despite the break at 16 which is also the age at which compulsory schooling ends in England, the numbers

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10. Peterson, op.cit., pp.61-65.

11. Ibid. p.68.

of students staying on for sixth form studies is rising. He quotes the following figures taken from an unpublished thesis on the Sixth Form College by T.J. Foulkes which shows that junior college enrolments in Southampton have been rising between 1967 and 1970 irrespective of the students academic records:-

Numbers of Students Transferred into Junior Colleges (Southampton)

(Classified by number of O Level/CSE Grade 1 passes before entry.)

<u>Year</u>	<u>A.</u>	<u>B.</u>	<u>C.</u>	<u>D.</u>
1967	75	52	38	19
1968	84	81	69	39
1969	86	75	103	83
1970	101	93	126	75

A = 5 or more: B = 3 or more: C = 1 or 2: D equals none.<sup>12</sup>

Peterson noted that open access junior colleges raised questions of relations with colleges of further education which also tend to have open admission policies and concluded that the rationale for two separate institutions rather than one was not clear.<sup>13</sup> He also noted that some authorities such as Devon have begun to experiment with a single college - an integration of a junior or sixth form college with a college of further education - for which he saw the following advantages.

1. Colleges of further education have a tradition of more "operational" or practical classes.
2. The contact between day release pupils and 6th formers are socially valuable.
3. The problem of teaching newer more "operational" courses could be more easily solved by bringing in people from active life as part time teachers in a further education context.
4. The gradual introduction of teaching methods more appropriate to a philosophy of lifelong education in an adult community might be easier in such a setting.

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12. Foulkes, T.J. Unpublished thesis on The Sixth Form College, Oxford University Department of Educational Studies, 1971, cited by Peterson, The Future of Sixth Form, p.70.

13. Peterson, op.cit. p.70.

Peterson concluded by acknowledging the fears of teachers that such an integration could weaken traditions of pastoral care and discourage regular student attendance.<sup>14</sup>

Since 1973 the term 'junior colleges' has been dropped in favour of open access as opposed to selective sixth form college.

King in 1976 added a few more details and extensions to the picture that Peterson presented. He called Peterson's third option "sixth form centres". Usually these are based on old grammar schools which satisfies secondary modern teachers as well as the grammar school interest group as the former are able to maintain the improved status of being a teacher in a comprehensive school. The pattern is for students passing through the secondary modern school, now the new comprehensive school, to be transferred to the sixth form centre for O level or CSE studies onwards where they join students coming up through the old grammar school.<sup>15</sup>

However, this arrangement involves the risk of tensions between the 'homegrown' (i.e. the grammar school 16-19 group) and the 'immigrant' 6th formers.<sup>16</sup> King pointed out that this arrangement is also thought by some to be of an interim nature. The next step is for the sixth form centre to become a college or for the feeder schools to develop their own sixth formers.<sup>17</sup>

Patricia Rowan (TES 4/11/77) mentioned a variant on this pattern. Tower Hamlets Sixth Form Centre in the inner London education authority was set up to promote co-operation between 6th forms in different schools rather than to centralise 6th form studies in one location. The Centre was set up in 1976 and involved the agreement of 17 secondary schools that if they could raise a group of 5 in any one subject, 6th formers would be able to travel to the Centre to take it there.<sup>18</sup>

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14. Ibid. p.71.

15. King. School and College, pp.58-59.

16. Peterson. op.cit. p.66.

17. King. op.cit. p.59.

18. Rowan, Patricia. "Cooperation or Separation", T.E.S., 4/11/77, pp.18-19.

King also elaborated on school-college cooperation. He drew upon evidence from a survey commissioned in 1970 by the Schools Council based upon interviews of a sample of college principals.

He concluded that links between schools and colleges though slight and tentative were growing. The most common contact was the provision of information about courses and in the stimulation of recruitment. This particular activity was carried out by 92% of the colleges surveyed, particularly in secondary modern schools. Nearly one quarter had arrangements for their staff to teach in local schools - usually to teach specific subjects where the school was short staffed. But there was little evidence of school staff teaching in colleges. Nearly three quarters of the colleges had pupils coming to them, mostly for vocationally oriented studies. They also attended for access to special equipment not provided in the schools. Again there was little evidence of full time college students taking part in courses or using facilities of the schools.

The arguments in favour of such links were largely economic - the greater use of resources and staffing. The problems involved tend to centre around physical distances between colleges and schools, difficulties of joint time-tabling, and concern over the lack of teacher training among college of further education staff.<sup>19</sup>

King also provided more details on the tertiary college. He mentioned Exeter College and North Devon College as the first of this new kind of institution which operates under Further Education Regulations. Exeter and North Devon schemes are fairly similar. The North Devon scheme was mainly locally devised and justified more on ideological rather than economic grounds. It involved all post 16 education being located in the college with the grammar and modern schools forming 11-16 feeder comprehensives. Inevitably there was considerable opposition from the grammar school staff, parents and governors. The Exeter scheme was accepted by the City Council for economic reasons mainly.<sup>20</sup>

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19. King.op.cit. pp.115-116.

20. Ibid. pp.137-138.

By 1977 it was clear that the DES was encouraging LEA's to consider a break at 16, confirming Peterson's suspicion that 11-18 schools did not have much future, and was beginning to favour the promotion of tertiary colleges.<sup>21</sup> By then there were 12 tertiary colleges in England and 15 by the end of 1978. Overall there were 75 sixth form colleges by the end of 1977 but caution has been recommended against overestimating the significance of these figures - "the 16-19 schools/further education gulf remains; for every college of further education there are still four sixth forms, and the 75 sixth form colleges are on the schools side of the gulf". The evidence so far however, does suggest there is a trend towards the development of institutions for sixth form or post school studies which has a broad curriculum offering many options and which to some extent operates a policy of open admission.<sup>22</sup>

#### Student Attitudes

According to the 16-plus enquiry conducted by the Times Educational Supplement in 1974 the new 6th form is "contrary to teachers' belief, becoming less elitest and less protected from the outside world".

It quotes figures published in 1970 by the Schools Council which showed that 28% of traditional sixth formers in that year were not following "A" level courses, but were in fact in the sixth form for only a year and not doing any courses above "O" level. The survey could not explain to what extent this trend away from a sixth form entirely dominated by A level candidates was going, but they found that as many as 13% of first year sixth formers in 1974 expected to stay in the sixth for less than two years. Others will drop out later.

Such statistics indicate the possibility that a new type of student without adequate academic credentials for traditional sixth form studies is entering the colleges, and that despite open access policies his needs are not being met.

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21. Rowan. TES 16-Plus Inquiry, 4/11/77.

22. Rowan. Cooperation or Separation, T.E.S., 4/11/77.

The survey also noted that sixth formers appear less committed to the existing sixth form than their teachers. "Two out of three of sixth formers believe that there are advantages of combining sixth forms with further education colleges - the tertiary college approach. A similar proportion of their teachers, however, see no advantage in that system over the present one".

Despite this, few students want radical change. "The pull of the traditional sixth is still strong. Three-quarters of the sample of 1,132 6th formers from 53 schools said they had never considered any alternative to going into the 6th. This was despite the fact, also published by the Schools Council, that although four-fifths of sixth formers aim for three or more A level passes, as many as a third can expect to fail or get no more than a single pass".<sup>23</sup>

Again such statements draw to mind parallels with the types of students who enrol into and 'drop-out' from the academic transfer programmes of American community colleges. Clark's "Open Door College" has a notoriously high drop out rate which he views as a result of its unintended 'cooling out' function.<sup>24</sup> About 4 out of 5 of all students want to see university and polytechnic entrance decided by a combination of examinations and continuous assessment. Most felt there was too much emphasis on examinations. The General Certificate of Education, both at ordinary level and advanced level, has been under review for the past few years, two thirds of the sixth formers wanted to keep the present arrangement at the A level, but only a third of the F.E. students preferred it to the alternative proposals. Finally, a very large majority of 6th formers and F.E. students wanted to be able to participate more in the running of their institution.

Something like half the sixth formers preferred to remain in

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23. "The Shape of Forms to Come", T.E.S. 16-Plus Inquiry, 21/6/74, pp.17-19.

24. Clark, Burton R. The Open Door College, McGraw Hill Book Co. Inc., 1960.

the type of institution where they were, but only a little more than 28% of grammar school pupils and a third of those in technical schools preferred where they were as compared with nearly half in the comprehensives. 58% in direct grant schools aimed for the traditional sixth, but only 53% of independent school sixth formers placed it above the other choices. 2 out of 3 F.E. students ranked their colleges as preferable to anywhere else.<sup>25</sup> These findings suggest that there is a fairly substantial number of students in the 16-19 age group who would prefer to be in a college of further education or a tertiary college.

### Teacher Attitudes

The TES Teacher Survey was conducted at the same time as the TES Sixth Form Survey. It involved 225 teachers, 24 of them in F.E. Colleges and the rest of them in schools and sixth form colleges.

Sampling was conducted well over four years with a result that developments current in 1974 could not be covered. These would include the emergence of new sixth forms in secondary modern schools which have gone comprehensive and the growing role of F.E. colleges. Nor does it reflect the views of teachers in the new sixth form colleges.

On the proposed changes to sixth form examinations, the survey concluded that "most teachers are firmly wedded to the system of public examinations and specialisation", and that "sixth form teachers have so internalised the academic values of the university that they no longer feel them as constraints".

Most teachers also resisted the suggestion "that sixth form education should be related to national social and economic needs. This rejection is "closely associated with the idea that the sixth is an elite form of education devoted to the needs of the above-average minority; the belief in specialisation; and to resistance towards innovation."

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25. "The new data: What the sixth say on paper", T.E.S. 16-Plus Inquiry, 28/6/74, pp.13-15.



However a majority, while opposing specific proposals for change made so far, admit that the time has come for a re-appraisal of the aims of sixth form education and that elitist attitudes are out-moded. Some of the more radical elements amongst teachers argue that changes to the examination system are irrelevant if the object is to change teaching methods and content - something that is necessary to meet the needs of the new mixed ability intakes.

Professor Taylor, the former Schools Council research director and leader of the survey, also noted "that elitist support for specialisation and resistance to innovation and outside influence are less marked amongst those who have taught only in comprehensives". It is reasonable to expect that a new generation of teachers coming straight to the new institution would be fairly receptive to new ideas.

The survey concluded that despite the conservatism of the teacher on the question of enforced change through the examination structure, he, given more freedom to choose within the structure "is likely to be pushed along the road to curriculum reform by the pressures developing from organisational change".<sup>26</sup> The survey did not examine the ideologies of teachers regarding their relationship with students and between themselves as professionals and the school as an organisation. Ronald King has undertaken such an analysis in an attempt to draw out ideological differences between teachers in schools and lecturers in colleges and, by implication, the sources of conflict or tensions that have to be overcome if greater co-operation between the two sides is required. The concept of "community" is important in English schools. It conceives of relationships between teachers and pupils, as intimate, affective, enduring and involuntary, and as ends in themselves.<sup>27</sup>

College teachers see their relationship with students in terms of an "association" involving voluntary, partial relationships, entered into as a kind of contract for some specific instrumental purpose.

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26. "... and what their voices say", T.E.S. 16-Plus Inquiry, 5.7.74 pp.16-17.

27. King. School and College, pp.150-151.

King points out the word 'association' is not used much but college principals imply it when they use phrases such as "we are in business - the education business". Another example is when a head of department says "my job is to sell courses". Association represents an organisational form in which principals of voluntarism of attendance and consumerism of provision may be expressed.

FE teachers view college students as entering into contracts on registration to which they owe obligations (mainly fulfilling requirements of courses) and from which they obtain certain rights in terms of access to college facilities. The teachers in schools on the other hand do not see pupils as under a contract, rather they see them as having obligations which are expected to be expressed as loyalties. Rights are few and may be taken away and later returned as privileges.

Teachers also see schools as concerned with 'character development' whereas technical college teachers view their students as young adults whose general socialisation is said to be complete. The emphasis in this case is more on instrumental culture. Students are assumed to have a favourable orientation from the voluntary nature of their attendance.

Technical college teachers tend to take pride in administrative efficiency. Timetabling is more complicated in a technical college, given the greater range of programmes both full-time and part-time. Involvement with administration is often regarded as the main route to promotion. The teacher in a school however has a more diffuse role. Administration is often viewed as a reluctant chore. However the blurring of the dividing lines between schools and colleges of further education is bringing these different ideologies into conflict. King noted that professional associations of the further education sector have in recent years put forward cases for full time education of young people in colleges of further education. Further, the expansion of student intake (16-19 age group) in colleges is seen by them as confirmation of the ideology of the college and the values of the principles of voluntarism and consumerism.

The increase in competition for full-time enrolment from the 16-19 age group is bringing out the differences in ideologies between the schools and the colleges:

"When colleges and schools began to compete for the same scarce resources, the interest groups were in conflict and their ideologies were unfurled".<sup>28</sup>

### The Comprehensive Movement

Most discussions on the post-school sector have tended to assume as high priority that at this level of education admission policies should be as open as possible, curricula should be more broadly based than is currently the practice, there should be more options for students to choose from and that there should be concern for the most effective use of expensive teacher resources, buildings and equipment. There is also increasing debate on ways of making educational systems more flexible by making it easier to transfer from one course to another within and between institutions and for the worlds of work and school to be more closely related.

Harry Judge of the University of Oxford's Department of Educational Studies in a letter to the Times Educational Supplement of 9th December, 1977, has called for the establishment of a commission "to examine the provision of education and training for the 16-19 age group, to assess the appropriateness of that provision and to make recommendations".

He pointed out that "until we know what we want for the immediate post-compulsory phase of education and training, we shall continue to suffer from creeping confusion". And "beneath the doubts about organisation and authority lie deep puzzles about the proper balance between education and training, the competing emphases of continuous or continuing education, the implications of a falling birthrate, the virtues and vices of manpower planning, the future of that system of public examinations which determine so many of our

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28. Ibid. pp.152-167.

objectives. These puzzles cannot be solved one by one, nor can they be isolated from strategic questions about the compulsory stage of education itself, or the evolution of higher education in the universities and "polytechnics".<sup>29</sup>

Edmund J. King also feels that more attention should be given to the immediate post-compulsory educational area. He calls for more research into the needs of the 16-19 age group, and for the establishment of new institutions for those over the age of 16 which will fit in better with the more adult attitudes of this age group.<sup>30</sup> It is on the question of new forms of educational provision for the 16-19 age group and the suggested answers to that question that the influence, both explicit and implicit, of the philosophy of comprehensive education becomes apparent.

Like many supporters of the comprehensive movement, Robin Pedley deplores the ending of comprehensive education at the age of 16 and the beginning of a "divided system of extended education". He estimates that under the present system "perhaps one third of those pupils who now leave school at 16 will get no continued formal education at all; another third will look to some kind of course within the further education system, whether full-time, sandwich, or part-time; the remaining third will stay in secondary education for a sixth year - increasingly in open-entry sixth form, regardless of their course or here and there attending a recently established sixth form college." He immediately draws our attention to "the large proportion of 16 year olds to whom education as they know it has no further appeal".

Pedley's statement carries the assumption that the quality of opportunity inherent in the comprehensive approach should underpin a reform of post-school education. Inevitably he argues for the amalgamation of colleges of further education with the sixth form

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29. Judge, Harry. "Wanted - a strategy for 16-19's", letter to the editor, T.E.S., 9/12/77, p.2.

30. King. "Education for a Communications Society", SAGE Annual Review of Social and Educational Change, 1977, p.31.

provision of secondary schools. "There is much to be said for their merging; in a given district it would mean more efficient curriculum provision with more subjects offered, classes of economical size, and more teachers more variously qualified".

He warns that "those who wish to hold on to sixth forms are in practice settling for comprehensive education ending at 16. They are rejecting for young people in their late teens-amongst the most formative years of human life - membership of a comprehensive college community with all the social, educational and economical advantages offered by a unified institution. Such a college would provide a great variety of studies and activities to meet the multitude of individual needs, yet do so within a basic unity".<sup>31</sup>

The Times Educational Enquiry into alternative forms of full-time 16-plus education carried similar implications when it compared the 75 sixth form colleges with 12 tertiary colleges in existence at the time. It noted that sixth form colleges were having "a hard time catering for the non-A level students. The alternatives seemed to be O level retakes, pre-vocational City and Guild Foundation courses and the yet unrecognised Certificate of Extended Education (CEE). Tertiary colleges claim they can do better. In addition to these alternatives they can offer training courses such as catering and hairdressing certificate courses which appear to have been very popular.

On this question the survey concluded - that "if the sixth form colleges are to be more than a compromise solution for the needs of the 16-19 group a new education act providing for joint regulations for the whole of 16-plus full time sector would offer far more".<sup>32</sup>

Mumford and Merfield claimed that post-16 education based on technical education provides an adult atmosphere. The Association of Technical Institutions (1969) felt the shortage of scientists and

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31. Pedley, Robin. "School or College?", Education and Training, 15, 7, July 1973, pp.246-247.

32. T.E.S. 16-Plus Inquiry, 15/7/77, pp.8-9.

technologists could be alleviated as more students entered an institution with a 'positive view of technology'. Also Rolfe felt that tertiary colleges would be a better preparation for higher education.<sup>33</sup>

Another argument is that the tertiary college would be more comprehensive in the social as well as the educational sense. Merfield, the principal of Exeter College, says "there are social advantages in gathering together in a comprehensive college: academic and technical, full-time and part-time, adolescent and mature, local and foreign whether out of town or overseas". He acknowledges the validity of one of Pedley's few reservations about tertiary colleges, namely the social atmosphere inherited from technical colleges, but in a letter to the Times Educational Supplement in 1969 argued the tertiary college's role would embody the best traditions of headmasterly pastoral care and college liberalism." He felt the college would change in "nature and name". In a later report he described the management or tutors, counsellors and other institutional advisors as ways in which "a large and rather amorphous college can be reduced to human proportions".<sup>34</sup>

More recently Judy Dean and Bruce Choppin of the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales have also come out in favour of ending the two forms of post-school education. The report argued that, "on educational as well as financial grounds, local authorities should set up tertiary colleges combining sixth form work with further education. In future, young people might leave school at 16 then spend time in non-compulsory colleges covering both academic and vocational work before moving onto jobs or higher education". They felt that dual provision is costly and that local authorities would have to confront the issue of whether secondary education should end at 16 and reorganise 16-19 education without the option of staying into a sixth form.<sup>35</sup>

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33. Mumford, P. and Merfield, H. "The Exeter Scheme", Forum, 15, and Rolfe, J. "Sixth Form College of Further Education", Technical Education, 11, 1969, cited by King, School and College, p.127.

34. Merfield, H. Letter to T.E.S. in 1969 cited by King, School and College, p.128.

35. Dean, Judy and Choppin, Bruce. Educational Provision 16-19, National Foundation for Educational Research, 1977, cited by T.H.E.S. - "Report backs tertiary colleges" - 8/7/77, p.3.

They also point out that other arguments in favour of the tertiary design note its extension of the comprehensive principle through to post compulsory - compulsory education, its greater degree of flexibility - particularly for transfer between academic and vocational courses - and its genuinely adult atmosphere.<sup>36</sup> The leader column of The Times Higher Education Supplement of the 8th July, 1977, entitled "The Last Area of Expansion" is more cautious. It states that some cry that further education has become "a dog's breakfast", however it feels that uniform, national solutions, such as a policy that every authority establish tertiary colleges or abandon their "all through" schools - could in the present state of knowledge be disastrous.

It admits on the other hand that in recent years, many 16 year olds with a local choice have voted with their feet for the more adult atmosphere of technical college or college of further education. From the point of view of higher education institutions a maturer sort of A level candidate would be welcome.

Despite its caution, the column does hint at support for the tertiary colleges by drawing attention to "the advertised strength" of these institutions namely that A level students can combine main studies with a wide range of subsidiary work validated by the City Guilds Crafts Examining Boards". It concludes more boldly - "This potential broadening of the 16-19 curriculum for students intending to go into higher education is both an opportunity for higher education institutions - especially the polytechnics and advanced further education colleges - and a challenge".

One of the problems to be overcome in promoting co-operation or even amalgamation between schools and colleges is a difference in traditions and ideologies already outlined. The Times Educational Supplement matched performance against the rhetoric of North Devon Tertiary College at Barnstable. It noted that in the coffee room for example - "open for

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36. Ibid. Reported in T.H.E.S., 8.7.77, p.10.

part of the day for students as well as staff - lecturers tend to sit together by departments; mathematics and science in one corner, engineering in another and so on". They also noted that the principal of a technical college is not like a headmaster but more like an administrator/king faced with his powerful departmental barons. Students never and staff very rarely meet together as one body. It is all done through departments. And both staff and students resent the consequent remoteness of the principal.

They did find some evidence that people who had transferred from the old grammar school seemed happy under the new system - particularly the greater range of courses it offered to students.

However they found that the options were traditionally based - "it is no easier than in a school to combine traditional subjects with applied ones". Their explanation was that the principal was very concerned with success and feared that such combinations would lead to failure. But they also noted that the college has some of the problems encountered, for example, in some of the new technological universities - arts lecturers who dislike having to service technical departments, and technical departments glued to their traditional industry-based way of doing things.

More progress has been made in minority-time subjects. The principal of one contrasting subject and one complementary one is applied - particularly where A level students are concerned. There is now compulsory foundation study course for the first year as a result of which girls including future Oxbridge students have found themselves doing woodwork and metal-welding.

The article concluded that this final result is "a definite breakthrough - though mainly in terms of a break at 16 for the A level students".<sup>37</sup>

The same edition of The Times Educational Supplement commented that partly as a result of comprehensive re-organisation there is con-

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37. "Keeping the barons and the innovators happy",  
T.E.S. 16-Plus Inquiry, 21.6.74, p.19.



siderable debate about the kind of educational institution in which A level studies should be conducted. This has been a local discussion but at the same time the questions of curriculum has been discussed at the national level particularly through the Schools Council but "almost exclusively in the narrower terms of the A level examinations and syllabus".<sup>38</sup>

Over the past few years the Schools Council through a working party has recommended a two-tier system of sixth form examination structure in place of the present A level system, involving a Q, or qualifying exam, in the first year in five subjects and a F or further exam in the following year in three subjects. Entry to the post 16 syllabus would have been on internal assessment by the schools. This proposal was rejected. Subsequently another proposal was made that the five subjects in place of the present three should be kept and divided up into three normal (N) subjects and two further (F) to be taken at the same time. There would also be a Certificate of Extended Education for those only intending to stay on one year in the sixth.

Two of the major motivating factors in suggesting such changes is to break the "university stranglehold" over the A level syllabuses and examinations, and to promote generalist more integrated courses in place of the current subject specialisation of the sixth forms - objectives increasingly supported by members of the British Labour Party as well as supporters of comprehensive education.<sup>39</sup>

A.D.C. Peterson has consistently argued for more integrated courses particularly in the form of an "International Baccalaureate", a suggestion implicitly supported by the 1968 Report of the Council for a Scientific Policy on the "Flow of Candidates in Science and Technology into Higher Education" (known as the Dainton Report), which in part was concerned that there were two "cultures" still operating in which arts men and scientists could not understand one another's language.<sup>40</sup>

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38. "The new sixth: little for their comfort", T.E.S. 16 plus Inquiry, 21.6.74, pp.17-19.

39. See - Fowler, Gerry M.P. "Looking before leaping is only safe way forward", T.H.E.S., 2/9/77, p.11; "Dr. Tolley urges national part-time study inquiry", T.H.E.S., 18/11/77, p.3; and articles in T.E.S., 21/6/74, pp.17-19.

40. T.E.S. 16-Plus Inquiry, loc.cit.

Professor Barnard of Essex University added an annexe to the Report in which he stated that "the pre-specialisation, which commonly occurs two years before O level in practice determines the O levels and A levels a child will take, the type of higher education at which a child will aim, and, for the university applicant, the faculty to which he will apply".

The article concluded - "The way in which the sixth form is trapped between university entrance and O level choices, explains much of its resistance to change. It certainly accounts for most of the assumptions on which the debate is based.

To bring further education into debate - to talk about structure as well as curriculum - would risk endangering the whole fabric. The break, it is widely assumed, must still be at 18 and not at 16".<sup>41</sup>

The Times Educational Supplement of 5th July, 1974 made comparisons between England and European countries and noted that most European countries have a "knowledge-based curriculum rather than a subject-based one", and that "this has meant that most continental exams like the Baccalaureate are school-leaving exams which give the right to go on to university on a non-competitive basis. They are not tied, as ours are, to competitive university entrance requirements. One of its conclusions was that "so long, as, in professional terms, prestige and money are bound up with the size of school sixth forms, that situation will continue. An essential pre-condition to any radical change in our approach to 16-plus education is the abolition of the Burnham Points system for teachers. It is, in a real sense, shocking to hear the cynicism with which students refer to the vested interests of their teachers even while they suffer its effects in comparative silence".

It was also noted that careers teaching needed a radical re-appraisal. It found that most career teachers in the schools sector seemed unable to do anything for those at the bottom of the class, and

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41. loc.cit.

were unconcerned with those at the top, who have a chance to continue their full-time education after 16. They seem to share the assumptions of most teachers in this country that school is the proper place for people to be until the chosen few go on to university. The exceptions to this were named as those who had looked into the career possibilities for school leavers within the further education sector.<sup>42</sup>

Despite these difficulties, the call for a re-appraisal of educational provision for the 16-19 age group that in keeping with the principles of comprehensive education would be more generalist and would relate the worlds of school and work more closely appears to be falling on receptive ears. In February 1978, the government was reported to be - "considering urgently setting up an enquiry into the education and training of 16-19 year olds. Ministers are already discussing who should head the enquiry. One proposal is that it should be a leading trade union figure because of the importance of securing the co-operation of industry in an integrated education and training system".<sup>43</sup>

Patterns Of Control And Governance: Movement Towards Greater Community Involvement.

At the national level the Department of Education and Science (DES) is responsible for -

1. The issuing of further education (including teacher training) and awards regulations.
2. Control of building programmes.
3. Approval of advanced courses.
4. Setting of national standards (e.g. minimum enrolment numbers).
5. Administration of advanced further education pool which now includes teacher training.
6. Approval of Articles of Government.
7. Financial controls exercised through control of capital investment and through rates support grant.

At the local level a Local Education Authority (LEA) is responsible for -

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42. "Taking curriculum and organisation together", P.E.S. 16-Plus Inquiry, 5/7/74, p.17.
  43. "Whitehall on the brink of 16-19 age group inquiry", P.E.S., 3/2/78, p.1.

1. The determination of the framework and pattern of further education in the area.
2. Submission of higher education schemes to the Secretary of State.
3. Submission of advanced course proposals to the Regional Advisory Council (RAC) and DES.
4. Submission of building programme to DES.
5. Arrangements for college government and finance. Control of capital investment and revenue budgets.
6. Co-ordination of further education in its area through specialist panel and faculty systems. (Note - College governing bodies work in accordance with Instruments and Articles of Government.)
7. Structure of county committees and of education department.

Sandwiched between the DES and LEAs are Her Majesty's Inspectors who are responsible for regions, districts and specialist subjects. In essence they are influential middle men responsible for advising DES, LEAs and principals and for ensuring the maintenance of minimum national standards.

The further education sector also has Regional Advisory Councils (RACs) which are responsible for -

1. Regional co-ordination of further and higher education (other than in the university sector).
2. Regional development planning of higher education.
3. Advice to the DES on distribution of advanced courses.
4. Advice to the LEAs on distribution of non-advanced courses.<sup>44</sup>

In this complicated context the colleges of further education have been undergoing centralisation of control and standardization of process with a consequential reduction of autonomy for some time. The Industrial Training Act led to some curtailment of an entrepreneurial role in setting up courses. Sometimes industry has provided "training" through firms, leaving colleges with "education". The Pilkington Report 1966 made recommendations about the minimum class size in noting that both plant and staff of the colleges could be used more efficiently. The Haslegrave Report of 1969 made suggestions to regularise courses for technicians and workers on the grounds of effectiveness and economic efficiency. This

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44. Paper sent by Hertfordshire County Council on 8/11/77 in response to a request for information.

led to the setting up of the Central Technicians Education Council and the Business Education Council with powers to plan and administer exams and courses of a national character. Finally the Hunt Report of 1970 recommended that the college year be expanded to 48 working weeks - the same as for industry. In this context of increasing control in the provision of vocationally oriented courses, King points out that colleges are naturally keen to guarantee a supply of students for the General Certificate of Education Ordinary and A Levels. The content and nature of such courses do not have to be negotiated through the increasing number of central committees. Only the university examining boards have to be dealt with. Also being full time, such courses help in administrative planning and maintain staff stability. They also give a measure of independence from industries Industrial Training Boards.<sup>45</sup>

The governing body of a college of further education is answerable to the local education authority. However, the wider complicated environment in which the college has to function is reflected in the composition of the governing board. There are representatives from the local industries, professional bodies, and the trade unions. Occasionally members of the teaching staff are also represented. The Secretary is usually an officer of the local authority.<sup>46</sup> Representation from the student body and wider community is not normally included.

The schools sector on the other hand is less encumbered by national and regional machinery. Schools therefore have more opportunity in theory for promoting democratic managerial patterns of governance.

However, the conservatism of teachers and their professional associations, particularly in respect to greater community involvement in the management of schools, has been a major impediment to extensive experimenting at this level.

The Taylor Report commissioned by the Secretary of State for

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45. King. School and College, pp.168-169.

46. Cantor and Roberts. Further Education in England and Wales, p.24.

Education for Wales was issued in late 1977. Its terms of reference related to management and government of schools. It found that most governing bodies were ineffective, often unaware even of their potential powers. Some schools did not even have separate boards but were managed in groups. It recommended that every school should have its own board of governors

- there should be equal representation of parents, teachers and representatives for the local community and LEA. The head should always be a member,
- there should be school-based elections for parent and pupil governors.
- LEAs should hand over to governors responsibility for setting the broad aims for the school and deciding how to achieve them,
- there should be clear procedures established on the exclusion, suspension and expulsion of pupils,
- the LEAs should run training courses for governors which should be compulsory for all new appointments.<sup>47</sup>

The findings of the Report were supported by the National Association of Governors and Managers and by the National Confederation of Parent Teacher Associations which represents over one million parents.

Others such as Mr. Norman St. John Stevas, the Tory spokesman on Education, welcomed not only the inclusion of local community representatives, but the moving away from political control of governing bodies. Taylor himself endorsed this latter point - "One of the beauties of the report is that it says that nobody should be in control of a governing body. Personally I think it is very sad that places like Kent are packing their governing bodies with political appointees like ex-councillors and former aldermen who are there to put up their hand for their own party. We suggest that instead of having political control there should be no one group in control, but the governors should be an autonomous body".

Opposition was very strong from the general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters - Union of Women Teachers which

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47. "Snub for 'busybodies charter' (The Taylor Report)",  
T.E.S., 23/9/77, p.1.

said the Report offered a "bogus partnership" because it was impossible for lay people "intelligently to share in the management of the education system. It was destructive of professional responsibility". Similarly the General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers (NUT) criticised the Report for suggesting the handing over the running of schools to "management by unaccountable committees".<sup>48</sup>

The Report has not been implemented, but it does indicate that the government and the general public are concerned for the accountability of the school sector, and that the movement for community involvement in school management is gaining ground.

The lack of enthusiasm in encouraging membership of educational decision-making bodies from outside "professional" groups may well extend to many local authorities, if the outcome of a survey by the Educational Centres Association (ECA) in early 1976 on student representation "at the various levels of decision-making in adult education" is any guide. It found that contrary to the thrust of the Russell Report's recommendations, student representation on Regional Advisory Councils, Local Development Councils - Councils proposed by Russell which would act as open forums for all elements involved in the broad definition of adult education - management committees of adult education centres and school governing bodies appear to be the exception rather than the rule.<sup>49</sup>

These tentative conclusions, taken in conjunction with the findings of Edward Hutchinson<sup>50</sup> and Graham Williams<sup>51</sup> in their studies of the management of community education in Leicestershire's community colleges and the reactions of teacher associations to the Taylor Report, suggest

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48. loc.cit.

49. Wallis, John. "Student representation: an ECA survey." Adult Education, 50, 3, September 1977, pp.155-161

50. Hutchinson. "Participation in the Leicestershire Community Colleges", Studies in Adult Education, 1974.

51. Williams, Graham. "Managing Community Education. A Leicestershire Case Study", Adult Education, 50, 6, March 1978, pp.370-375.

that the issues of general community involvement and student representation in the management of schools and colleges have yet to be resolved. Presumably the very facts that are being discussed and were in part the subject of a report commissioned by the government suggest that some of the pre-conditions for change are already in existence, and that teachers and local authorities will be under increasing pressure to modify their positions in the near future.



## CHAPTER 14

### A CASE STUDY OF A TERTIARY COLLEGE. THE NEW ENGLISH COMMUNITY COLLEGE?

Given the thrust towards re-organisation of post-school education on comprehensive principles, the assumption is being made that the tertiary college, though few in number at present, will be viewed with interest and favour as a possible solution by an increasing number of local authorities to the problem of over-lapping provision at the interface of the school and further education sectors. It is also being assumed that tertiary colleges could assume functions similar to some of the community colleges of the United States and Canada. Nelson and Colne College<sup>1</sup> has been selected as a case study because it is an example of a tertiary college already exhibiting tendencies to move in this direction.

In a brief report on Nelson and Colne entitled "The Story of the Birth of Tertiary", the principle reasons for the formation of the college are summarised under the following three headings:-

(a) Educational

1. The system will be fully comprehensive and avoid any need for 16+ selection.
  2. Students would benefit from a wider range of teaching staff, fuller careers guidance supported by close liaison with industry and the community, a more complete range of subject and course options, a more sophisticated scheme of pastoral care and greater physical resources.
  3. Because of the presence of adult students and the need for giving
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1. The following was sent on Nelson and Colne College by the Lancashire Education Committee in response to a request for information:  
The Story of the Birth of Tertiary;  
 Blezard, David H. The Developmental Unit, Report No.3 for the year 1975-1976;  
 Moore, D.J. (Principal), An Introduction to the College, 15.10.75;  
 and Some notes on non-formal educational projects. Most of the information on the college has been obtained from these references.

more responsibility to the individual student in a college the system would provide an acceptable half-way house between school on the one hand and university or industry on the other.

(b) Organisational

1. The system would avoid duplication of administration with regard to the office, the library, careers guidance, enrolment and recruitment and all matters relating to finance and grants.
2. The use of further education scales would give parity to all staff dealing with the 16+ age group.
3. Wasteful duplication of courses and competition between institutions would be avoided.

(c) Financial

1. There would be some saving in staffing because the need for duplication in certain areas would be ruled out.
2. Wasteful duplication of equipment such as audio visual aids would be avoided.
3. There would be no need to provide certain central facilities such as a sports hall or modern library as these already existed at Reddyford.

In another document "An Introduction to the College" the following aims and objectives are listed:-

1. To provide full-time courses for the entire post-16 age group as a "tertiary" College.
2. To provide part-time vocational courses for day-release students in certain subjects.
3. To provide general or vocational education for the entire community either by special provision or by encouraging all age ranges to join in existing classes for younger students.
4. To provide a programme of formal leisure classes in and out of college buildings, e.g. old people's homes, clubs, church halls, etc.
5. To act as an agency to generate sporting, recreational, cultural and educational activities, e.g. sporting events, concerts and other performances.

6. To act as an agency for the ad hoc training needs of business, industry and other organisations - for example, in 1974-75 there were 63 short courses involving 807 students, run largely on a self-supporting basis, occasionally staff also act as consultants to industrial firms.
7. To promote educational activities particularly relevant to the environment at Gawthorpe Hall, e.g. concerts, courses, festivals, craft, fairs, etc.
8. To promote activities and courses related to the Rachel Kay-Shuttleworth Collection at Gawthorpe Hall, e.g. courses recruiting locally, nationally and internationally.
9. To act as an agent in matters of concern to the community or particular individuals, e.g. public meetings for motorway plans, formation of neighbourhood councils, the establishment of a civic trust and other activist groups. This involves deliberate and creative co-operation with other bodies and agencies, e.g. Mid-Pennine Association for the Arts, local authorities, press and any other group.
10. To make whatever special arrangements are necessary to meet the needs of the disadvantaged members of the community.
11. Any beneficial activities which does not fall into the above categories, e.g. Talking Newspaper for the Blind.

In 1975 the college had 150 full-time staff and nearly 200 part-time teachers or visiting lecturers.

The college is organised into six departments services by a central Educational Services Unit for academic requirements; they are also divided into specialist sections.

The college careers guidance officer is supported by a specialist in each department. All students are offered private counselling as well as opportunities to attend films and talks, visits, etc. The college is also building up a list of local business and professional men willing to give individual guidance to particular students on a "one off" basis.

Recent development has been the establishment of a new clinic to help resolve some of the problems facing students with their first job or university interviews. It was estimated that over 100 students take advantage of this each year.

Apart from academic and careers counselling, the college also offers a personal service through a series of counsellors. In addition to individual interviews the team also supervise general talks. e.g. family planning, and maintains strong links with specialist agencies such as the police, social services, etc.

Two students are governors of the college and three more serve on the Consultative Council which is an internal advisory body. However, the document adds the cautionary note that most of the comments refer to full-time students.

Wherever possible the college attempts to operate an open admission policy.

In 1971 the college became responsible for the use of a small 17th century mansion donated by the National Trust, called Gawthorpe Hall. Its use is divided into several broad categories:-

1. Events and courses designed around and to promote the collection of almost 10,000 items within it.
2. A wide variety of broadly adult educational events and activities including concerts, exhibitions and courses.
3. Short management courses for local industry (60 per year).
4. Access by the general public on open afternoons, party study, visits, etc. In the 1974-75 period it was estimated that some 11,000 people used the premises.

The college also runs a special developmental unit. It was established in August 1974 "to bring together a number of existing activities with a view to increasing the college's effectiveness". Its aims are:-

1. To provide a study support service for all full-time and part-time students.

2. To provide better access to college resources for people in the community who do not yet have the skills and abilities to cope with formal study at college.

Its present structure includes a study skills centre which helps students who have problems in presenting written work and have not yet acquired a self-discipline in study; a community outreach programme for the physically or mentally handicapped, which helps with difficulties in reading and writing, and a general information service for members of the community requiring advice or help; an English language programme for immigrants; and a foundation programme designed to assist school leavers who are under-achieving and are not able to be in a full "O" level course.

The college also pioneered a scheme to admit students without the traditional A level matriculation examinations to degree courses at Lancaster University, Preston Polytechnic, and various colleges of higher education.

The Times Higher Education Supplement of 26th September, 1975, pointed out that such a scheme would make the "first major breach in the General Certificate of Education system introduced to schools and colleges nearly 30 years ago".

The idea was to create an alternative way of entering higher education for older students or adult workers who left school at 16 and want to return to education. In its pilot stage it was thought that courses should be designed in two stages - "the first would involve study techniques, scientific method and either historical method or language and style or mathematical 'language', and two or three other credits".

Credit courses would be modern languages; the vocabulary of politics and economics; introduction to sociology and social psychology; the appreciation of music; courses in art designed to develop sensitivity to the environment and to artistic achievement, including practical work; introduction to the forms of literary art; and the ecosystem.

The second stage would involve choice of two units from -

Edwardian Britain; the Renaissance; modern language; music; art; the identity of modern Europe; international relations; behavioural sciences applied to a second area (possibly industrial relations); mathematical support for the social sciences (probability in statistics); mathematical support for the natural sciences; man and his environment.

The Vice-Chancellor of Lancaster University, Mr. (now Sir) Charles Carter, pointed out "characteristically these courses use, wherever appropriate, ideas from several traditional disciplines. Many of them do not fit the orthodox subject divisions used at school and involve, wherever appropriate, case studies of practical work related to the mature students experience of life".

The Principal of Nelson and Colne College, Mr. David Moore, argued that "A" levels are totally inappropriate for adults - largely because they are designed to follow a five year course and are aimed at the 16-19 year old in full-time education. "Adults not only need more flexible learning opportunities but they are able to cope with many different approaches given sufficient counselling and local support".

He also pointed out that for adults "the needs might be a general education experience acquired for promotion to join management, for personal development, or to break into higher education without disrupting their entire lives".<sup>2</sup>

By 1978 the scheme was well under way and was known as the "Open College Scheme". Students obtaining six credits from the recognised part-time courses are eligible for admission to the higher education courses, including degrees, run by Lancaster University, Preston Polytechnic and several colleges of higher education. "Open College units are taught in adult, further education, tertiary colleges and mature students make application to them in the first instance."<sup>3</sup>

Comparisons with American community colleges, though not complete, indicate some remarkable parallels. In the language of the

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2. "University and college link on alternative + A-level entry", T.H.E.S., 26.9.75, p.1.

3. "Will model E suit our demanding customers?", T.H.E.S., 26/5/78, p.7.

American colleges, Nelson and Coln College has begun the process of offering academic transfer courses, already conducts a considerable range of vocational/technical courses, remedial educational programmes through its Developmental Unit, adult education, counselling services and community services. The claim has also been made that tertiary college students can transfer between academic and more vocationally oriented courses "without much trouble".<sup>4</sup>

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4. "A new tertiary animal for breeding", T.H.E.S., 24/10.75.

## CHAPTER 15

### HIGHER EDUCATION

#### Introduction

England's binary system of higher education is composed of the Universities comprising the autonomous or private sector, and the advanced further education system with the polytechnics at the top which is the public sector.

Dorotea Furth describes the characteristics of the latter as follows:-

1. Complete administrative separation from the universities.
2. Highly diversified in type and level of studies offered; varied patterns of study (e.g. sandwich courses, part-time day and evening courses etc.).
3. Some courses offered at degree and post-graduate degree levels (mainly in the polytechnics). However, these courses tend to be specialised and professionally oriented as opposed to the theoretical and academic orientation of university courses.<sup>1</sup>

#### History of the Public Sector

The 1944 Education Act made it a statutory duty of every LEA to provide "adequate facilities" for further education in its area, further education being defined as "full-time, part-time and leisure-time occupations for persons over the compulsory school leaving age".

The Act was sufficiently imprecise to allow some authorities to combine to provide facilities on a regional basis. However, though LEAs were asked to consult neighbouring authorities when preparing their plans, in practice most tended to guard their autonomy and to act independently the introduction of the courses. The results were, there

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1. Furth, Dorotea. Short Cycle Higher Education:

A Search for Identity, O.E.C.D., 1973, pp.16-17.



was only a relatively small number of new "major establishments" set up. The tendency was to extend and adapt existing buildings, partly because finances were still low, and there was no regional or national planning.

The situation improved following the release in 1945 of "The Percy Report on Higher Technological Education". In 1947 the National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce (NACEIC) was set up. In 1948 Regional Advisory Councils were set up to bring education and industry together to advise on suitable provision of courses for young workers and to ensure such provision was made with economy. By 1951 six National Colleges and the College of Aeronautics were set up with joint funding from industry and the government. By 1956 student numbers had risen from about 1,500,000 immediately after the War to about 2,250,000. Sandwich courses had gained general acceptance and the teaching force had risen from about 4,500 to almost 12,000.

The three main types of technical colleges developed by this time were regional colleges (mainly in urban areas) offering high level technical programmes, area colleges offering varying amounts of advanced work many of a part-time nature and local colleges mainly offering vocational part-time courses of a non-advanced standard. In 1956 the Government White Paper on Technical Education regarded the position of Great Britain as a leading industrial nation to be in jeopardy because of the failure to apply science to industry. Its recommendations led to the upgrading of eight regional colleges. They were renamed colleges of advanced technology (CATs) and were to provide a broad range and substantial volume of work exclusively at advanced level, including post-graduate and research work. All but Loughborough College of Technology were under the control of LEAs though they received 75% of their grant from the Ministry of Education for certain of their advanced courses. By 1962 two further colleges were added to the list. All were grant aided establishments.

At this time the Diploma in Technology (Dip.Tech.) was introduced. It was regarded as equivalent of a university honours degree - the first time the public higher education sector had a qualification equivalent to university degree standard.

Regional colleges, other than the CATs had continued to grow. By 1963 there were 25. Both institutions continued to emphasise a growing concentration of high level courses. In this situation area and local colleges decreased slightly - partially an outcome of rationalisation and partially because of the tendency for specialist staff and facilities to be concentrated in the other establishments. Despite the unchecked tendency for the senior levels of the public higher education sector to pursue more advanced programmes, the Ministry of Education through the Regional Advisory Councils, was able to encourage a great deal of advanced planning for the siting of new courses on a regional and national basis.

Following the release in 1963 of the Robbins Report on Higher Education, further upward mobility occurred amongst some public higher education institutions. The CATs became technological universities awarding their own degrees. They were from then on financed by the University Grants Commission and were therefore regarded as part of the private sector. Regional colleges, however, were not upgraded to become universities.

Two years after the 1966 Government White Paper on "A Plan for Polytechnics and Other Colleges", the Secretary of State gave provisional approval for the setting up of the first 16 polytechnics. These were formed by amalgamating certain well established regional colleges offering a comprehensive range of high level courses. They were to be kept under LEA control.

Polytechnics were seen as an alternative to universities for obtaining high level qualifications including degrees. Indeed, one of the recommendations of the Robbins Report was that the National Council

for Technological Awards was to be replaced by the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) which had degree granting powers.<sup>2</sup>

### Higher Education Institutions

#### Polytechnics

Although it is possible to gain post-graduate qualifications at a polytechnic college, including the Phd, there are some parallels between this institution and some of the North American community colleges, particularly the colleges of applied arts and technology (CAATs) of Ontario in Canada.

First they offer a comprehensive range of courses in varied forms - full-time and part-time, and in the evening as well as the day-time. Their main function is seen to be teaching, though they also conduct research to improve the quality of teaching and to make a valuable contribution to the research needs of local industry. They are clearly different from universities and colleges or institutes of higher education (upgraded teachers colleges), because of the greater diversity of student intake, the mixture of part-time and full-time teachers as well as students, and because of the closer ties with industry, business and the professions. They are regarded as innovative, offering exciting courses in computer science, nautical studies, building, ceramics and photographic technology developed in response to the needs of the industries concerned.

Though they are under LEA control, they are more free than any other further education establishment but not so much as the autonomous universities. Unlike the North American colleges, however, they make no pretence of operating open admission policies. Quite the reverse, they are highly selective and can award higher degrees.

In 1969 Cantor and Roberts suspected they would have debilitating effects on the morale of other further education establishments. The polytechnics posed a threat to the continuance of full-time advanced

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2. Cantor and Roberts. Further Education in England and Wales, pp.2-10.

courses in other further education institutions.

They also felt that there was a need for large-scale planning in higher education. On the creation of polytechnics they had this to say - "that such a change should take place at this stage in the development of further education is partly due to the relative lack of long term large-scale planning which has hitherto characterised it".<sup>3</sup>

#### Colleges of Higher Education

These are sometimes known as Institutes of Higher Education. They are mainly concerned with initial and in-service teacher training to the Bachelor of Education level. Their work is expected to diversify as a result of the recent re-organisation involving the closure of many colleges and departments of education.

James Porter had hoped that in the process of re-organisation the colleges no longer required for teacher education could become the bases for community colleges which by implication would be on the North American model.<sup>4</sup>

John Hicks in an article "Colleges in Transition" had also hoped that comprehensive programmes similar to the ones offered by American community colleges which by implication would be on the North American model.<sup>4</sup>

He saw little chance of the latter type of co-operation occurring mainly because of the "continued uncertainty and debate on the future of some of the colleges of education" which could "frustrate or impede the co-operative development of new courses or even in some circumstances call into question the retention of some academic work".<sup>5</sup>

The very fact that new directions are being suggested for colleges of education, particularly in association with the further

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3. Ibid. pp.32-34.

4. Porter, James. "Is there any reality behind the rhetoric?", T.H.E.S., 30/12/77, p.5.

5. Hicks, John. "Colleges in Transition", Avon Education Journal, 4, September, 1975, pp.19-23.

education sector, indicates the fluidity of the present state of affairs in English higher education. Although such changes have not occurred so far, speculation of this type indicates that experiments, along the lines hoped for by Porter and Hicks, could still be tried in the near future.

#### Colleges of Further Education.

Jonathan R. Bryan compared British colleges of further education with American community colleges. He found the "similarities in purposes, organisation, methods" striking despite the different origins. He noted the breadth of the programmes of colleges of further education, particularly the larger colleges, and felt that "like American community colleges, they provide as necessary, something for everyone".

Though the British institution has links with secondary and higher education, he did note that these seemed more ambiguous when compared with the American community college. He compared the administration by a local authority with the American community colleges' administration by county and state government. He felt they were comparable on this level. However, he noted that academic certificates and diplomas are awarded by external organisations and that full-time counsellors for student advice, information, and guidance in job placement were absent. This was viewed as the role of the teaching staff and various contacts in industry.<sup>6</sup>

John Hicks however, points out that the colleges have accepted a training role for every variety of crafts, trade and professional bodies, and as a consequence have inevitably failed in the maintenance of their claim for a comprehensive service which is simultaneously of high academic status and capable of rapid response to society's educational needs.

When compared with the breadth of provision of American community colleges he sees little chance of British future education colleges becoming as comprehensive. The "continuing development and maintenance of vocationally biased courses over a period of years" has led many colleges

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6. Bryan, J.R. "A College of Further Education in Britain",  
Community and Junior College Journal, vol.44,  
 May 1974, pp.18-21.

to be full and as a result -

- (a) expansion can only be at the expense of existing course provision;
- (b) the apparently legitimate claims of the colleges to offer high level courses loses some credibility in the face of their emphasis on comprehensive educational provision and some lack of success in extending the present range and quantity of high level work undertaken other than within craft courses;
- (c) the teaching and other accommodation in most of the colleges that might seek this new role are likely to be inappropriate to projected needs and could not, on present trends, be rapidly modified or extended.

Hicks sees little prospect of the colleges developing academic higher education programmes on the same level as American community colleges. However, he believes that, given changes in attitudes, the colleges could make moves to emulate the extent of adult education and community service provision of the North American college.<sup>7</sup>

### Open University

The Open University is proving to be a highly dynamic force both within the public and private sectors of higher education.

David Harris and John Holmes view the Open University as in competition with conventional universities. In 1976 they noted the publication of the Gavin Report recommending an expansion of academic staff for the Open University by up to 60% over the period up to 1984 while "conventional higher education", i.e. the traditional universities, seemed to be "austerity hit". They felt that the possibility of a "general shift away from conventional higher education towards Open University type education made it appropriate to reconsider the implications of the development of the Open University".

They pointed that Open University graduates have employment advantages over the graduates of traditional universities. They tend to be well-established in a career before commencing studies.

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7. Hicks, John. "Open Education", The Technical Journal, May-June 1974, pp.23-25.

They also noted the plans for expansion of the Open University as outlined by its Vice-Chancellor, Sir Walter Perry, in 1974 in the Rede Lecture at Cambridge University. In essence he suggested that the Open University could be the basis of expanding continuing education leading to a pattern in which elite students would enter Oxbridge-type universities, with the masses taking on shorter, more vocationally oriented higher education programmes at the Open University.

Harris and Holmes, however, felt that the Open University was too concerned with efficiency of administration in the mass delivery of education, and not sufficiently with its ends. In that respect it is a direct threat to the conventional university. To quote - "Not only is the whole system geared to the idea of the student as the passive receiver of knowledge, but the various parts of the system where the student might be expected to develop ideas and express them within his own framework are themselves so arranged to curtail such thoughts. What other conclusion can be drawn from the increasingly standardised assessment system, from student research which is organised on market research criteria, from the reduced emphasis placed on face-to-face contact, and the insistence that such contact should be 'remedial' in nature?"

They also felt that the Open University is not genuinely concerned with the student. It tends to concentrate on "fixed objectives" chosen by "course team academics on behalf of large numbers of unknown students". This arrangement is better suited to students who are already upwardly mobile and who require "their new-gained status confirmed and consolidated by an Open University degree".

They conclude "the Open University may turn out to be an extremely powerful conservative force, buttressing existing hierarchies in an effective way by offering equal opportunities to be judged in a subtly loaded educational situation. Isolated students, unable to get together to redefine the situation, must feel highly vulnerable to the explicit and implicit doubts about ability conveyed to them with their course materials".<sup>8</sup>

8. Harris, David and Holmes, John. "A threat to conventional methods in the logic of administrators", T.H.E.S., 20/2/76, p.9.

Ray Woolfe acknowledges the validity of these criticisms but believes that the Open University has many good and innovative points. He points out that the Open University does assist social mobility by giving the upwardly mobile the chance to confirm their newly acquired status. He admits this may not be radical enough for some tastes, but emphasises this can be looked at in a positive light. He also believes that the teaching methods are radical in some respects. In the Open University system teachers are open to supervision since they have to meet the objectives laid down by the academic teams responsible for the preparation of teaching materials. Woolfe believes this to be potentially very radical in the English context where traditionally teachers have claimed the right to be their own masters within the classroom.<sup>9</sup>

In terms of its relations with the public sector of higher education the Open University has clearly been a highly dynamic force, particularly in its promotion of credit transfers. In 1975 it entered into a credit transfer agreement with Lancaster University - the first of its kind in England. Similar agreements followed with the Universities of Sussex, Kent, Salford and Essex. Its most important agreement was made with the CNAA in 1977 regarding the exchange of credits between the Open University, polytechnics and colleges of higher education.<sup>10</sup> Following this agreement, the government decided to set up a working party to examine the feasibility of a national information centre for credit transfers in further and higher education.<sup>11</sup> These last two developments are viewed as highly significant with considerable implications for the future development of higher education in England.<sup>12</sup>

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9. Woolfe, Ray. "Education, inequality and the role of the Open University", Adult Education, 50,2, July 1977, pp.77-83.
10. "Two major steps on national credit transfers announced", T.H.E.S. 15.7.77.
11. "Credit transfer centre to be studied", T.H.E.S., 29.7.77.
12. See, for example, "Robbins plus 20: which way for higher education", a shortened version of the Foundation Oration given by Mrs. Shirley Williams, the then Secretary of State for Education, at Birbeck College on November 30, 1977, T.H.E.S., 9.12.77, p.13; "Credit exchange is key to 16-19 group proposal", report of address to the Further Education Conference in January 1978 by Peter Ashby, deputy president of the National Union of Students, T.H.E.S., 13.1.78, p.2; and Oakes, Gordon. "Policies and priorities in adult education", Adult Education, 51, 2, July, 1978, pp.73-83.



In conclusion, the Open University, though conservative in terms of questioning the ends of education, particularly its social ends, is proving to be an exciting force in making higher educational systems more flexible. Also through its open door policy and innovatory methods for widely disseminating educational programmes, it acts as an agency for widening access to higher education. In that respect it probably performs functions similar to those of American colleges within their higher education systems - particularly relieving the universities of the need to liberalise their admission policies. Though this statement is speculative there is a hint in the recommendations of a study on student "drop-outs" from Open University courses that there is a need to develop counselling services that in part would deter those judged to be potential failures from enrolling in the first place:- ".....since the University alone cannot provide a satisfactory counselling service for adults seeking access to education, it should take positive initiatives in setting up ..... an advisory service at both regional and national level to provide a network of information and advice on educational opportunities. The provision of such a comprehensive service would ensure that applicants would come to Open University advisors, having already gained from other sources some awareness of their educational needs and how they might best be met".<sup>13</sup>

### Issues and Trends

#### Co-ordination and Planning

Higher education in England as in most OECD countries has been undergoing a process of differentiation that is beginning to force the main political parties, as well as professional educationists in teaching, research and administration, to examine the problems involved in co-ordination and planning at regional and national levels. One initial difficulty is the highly decentralised nature of the administration of English education at all levels which makes even discussion of the subject of regional and national co-ordination a highly sensitive and complicated matter.

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13. Kennedy, David and Powell, Richard. "Student Progress and Withdrawal in the Open University", Teaching at a Distance, 10, 7, 1976. pp. 61-75.

Stock has stated "there is no national or centralised control of the curriculum of any educational establishment in the United Kingdom".<sup>14</sup> Hearnden, Secretary to the Standing Conference on University Entrance, cautiously called for the promotion of positive leadership in the co-ordination of higher education at the national level. The logical agency for that would be the Department of Education and Science. He felt there was a need for more public involvement in decision-making of this order.<sup>15</sup>

Gerry Fowler, a former Labour M.P. and minister of state in the Department of Education and Science, pointed out in 1977 that courses of higher education are offered not only by conventional universities, the Open University, polytechnics and colleges of advanced education, but by a wide range of other colleges - over 400 institutions in all. This points to another reason why planning is difficult - "There is no single overall system of control for all these institutions. The universities are funded through the University Grants Committee and each is autonomous or self-governing. A complex, but negative system of course control is operated in advanced further education, through the Regional Advisory Councils (RACs), and H. M. Inspectorate (on behalf of the Secretary of State)".<sup>16</sup>

Keith Hampson, the Vice-Chairman of the Conservative Party Education Committee has called for a "national body" that would have a diagnostic function and a positive role in co-ordinating developments from a national perspective, and that such an operation should not be limited merely to the polytechnics, but should cover the whole of advanced work. However, he baulked at the idea of including the universities under the control of an advanced education commission.

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14. Stock, Arthur K. "Community Colleges in the United Kingdom", International Review of Education, 20, 7, February 1975, pp.150-152.

15. Hearnden, Arthur. "Some Implications at the National Level: Planning and Continuous Consultation", SAGE Annual Review of Social and Educational Change, vol.1, 1977, pp.286-295.

16. Fowler, G. "Looking before leaping is only safe way forward", T.H.E.S., 2/9/77.

Instead he suggested that close working relationships be developed with the UGC to enhance dialogue. The starting point could be the re-vamping of the present regional advisory structure into what he called "joint area co-ordinating committees". He suggested that a pilot scheme or two could be tried out in regions where the universities were favourably disposed.<sup>17</sup>

Gordon Oakes, the previous Minister of State for Higher Education, was appointed to chair a committee to investigate the management of higher education. The recommendations of the "Oakes Committee" have been the subject of fierce debate between local and central government, higher educational institutions within the further education sector and between the main political parties. Most of the main issues current in higher education have focused on the proposals put forward by this Committee.

The polytechnics have attempted to improve their status by gaining more autonomy for their governing bodies and by divorcing themselves from local authority control. The Oakes Committee has recommended that a national body be created to allocate more than 85% of the costs of public sector higher education. Direct control was not advocated mainly because of opposition from the local authorities. The polytechnics have so far not been given an indication that greater autonomy will be directly granted to their governing bodies. However, as a concession, it has been proposed that they may transfer from local to national control provided their maintaining local authority agrees.<sup>18</sup>

The Labour Party's Science and Education sub-committee pressured the previous government to bring the universities and public sector higher education under one national controlling body, thereby ending the

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17. Hampson, Keith. "Ways to curb the resource wastage in duplicated courses", T.H.E.S., 2/12/77, p.13.

18. See, for example, "More powers for poly governors planned by Oakes", T.H.E.S., 23/9/77, p.1; "Poly funding plan splits DES and local authorities", T.H.E.S., 21/10/77, p.1; "The money goes round and round", T.H.E.S., 4/11/77, p.9.

binary system, and creating the conditions for comprehensive planning in higher education at the national level.<sup>19</sup> Whatever the outcome the Times Higher Education Supplement of 30th December, 1977, in its review of the year noted that one of the effects of the Oakes Report was to create "a central planning focus for polytechnics and colleges".<sup>20</sup>

#### Higher Education into the 1990s: Recurrent Education

The Department of Education and Science has estimated that the 18 year old age group, from which most of the higher educational institutions get their enrolments, will continue to rise until about 1981 and then decline in size from 1982/83 and will fall much more steeply from 1990/91. The DES has produced a discussion paper entitled "Higher Education in the 1990s" in which it has posed five possible models for tackling the higher educational problems that will follow in part from these demographic factors.

The first three discuss resource allocation assuming the current pattern of higher education enrolments continued for the next 14 years. The fourth, Model D, involves no addition to existing resources but greater efficiency in their use. For example the provision of two year rather than three year higher education courses could be encouraged thereby allowing for a greater enrolment without basically changing the pattern of existing resources. Alternatively more students could be diverted from full-time to part-time courses. Another proposal would be to encourage individuals to defer their initial entry into higher education for a period after leaving school. Enrolments in higher education could therefore be staggered.

The fifth, Model E, is more radical and has attracted considerable attention. It is based on the assumption that, despite the drop in the numbers of the 18 year old age group, social and economic requirements could bring about significant changes in the pattern and composition of the higher education student body. For example more educational

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19. "Pressure from Labour to bring universities under Oakes body", T.H.E.S., 26/5/78, p.1.

20. "Oakes stirs the local authority pool", T.H.E.S. Review of the year, 30/12/77.

resources may be allocated to those already in employment. This could pave the way for the implementation of recurrent education philosophies.<sup>21</sup>

Maggie Richards has written strongly in favour of Model E and suggested that the additional funding required for its implementation could be acquired through the revenue from North Sea Oil.<sup>22</sup>

Peter Brunsdon believes that implementation of Model E would lead to the merging of urban universities and polytechnics.<sup>23</sup>

Mrs. Williams, the previous Secretary of State for Education, believes that the foundations for recurrent education already exist in England " as exemplified by Birkbeck itself, the Open University, long term adult residential colleges, the Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS) and other training schemes and very diverse adult education systems. She also noted that the agreement of the Open University and the Council of National Academic Awards on facilitating credit transfers between courses and institutions would be of immense relevance to this development, and mentioned the move to consider the feasibility of setting up a national service for recording and making available information on credits. However, she cautioned that although the concept of recurrent education is gaining ground there is no strategy or articulated policy. She hoped the newly appointed Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education would help in developing such a coherent approach.<sup>24</sup>

Leonard M. Cantor, three years earlier, expressed doubts about the likely systematic implementation of recurrent education in England. He gave several reasons for this view. First "the British system of decentralisation and pragmatic response to social and economic pressures is not wholly amenable to the implementation of major policy decisions by the central authority". Secondly, high level British educational

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21. "Higher Education into the 1990s", T.H.E.S., 3/3/78, p.7.

22. Richards, Maggie. "Will Model E suit our demanding customers?", T.H.E.S., 26/3/78, p.7.

23. Brunsdon, Peter. "Model E students will radically change the system", T.H.E.S., 1/9/78.

24. "Robbins plus 20", Foundation Oration at Birkbeck College, T.H.E.S., 9/12/77, p.13.

administrators are "not wholly in agreement with the need to make large scale provision for recurrent education".

However, he concedes there are major pressures working in favour of recurrent education. First, changing industrial processes and changes in the general economic structure demand new and flexible patterns of training for adults. The introduction of TOPS and the expansion of Government Training Centres reflects this trend. Second, rapid social change forces individuals to make frequent social re-adjustments which in turn calls for some form of "continuing or permanent education". Third, leisure needs are rising. Fourth, the disparity of educational opportunities for older people compared with younger people will have to be narrowed. Recurrent education is seen as an ideal way of doing it.

However, he believes recurrent education will develop in an ad hoc evolutionary manner rather than on a systematically planned basis.<sup>25</sup>

#### Survival of the Binary Model.

Dahrendorf argues that the expansion in recent years of higher education following the outcome of the Robbins Report, has created problems for the university system. He sees two logical outcomes for universities in the future - either they become multiversities along the lines of the great American universities such as Columbia, or "external differentiation" will force deliberate distinctions between institutions. Multiversities would have parts which are explicitly responsive to demands from society along with research institutes and centres of innovation. By implication they would involve amalgamations with public higher education such as polytechnics. This option also implies the ending of the binary model.<sup>26</sup>

25. Cantor, Leonard M. Recurrent Education: Policy and Development in OECD member countries. United Kingdom, CERI, OECD, 1974, pp.23-26.

26. Dahrendorf, Ralph. "The problems expansion left behind", T.H.E.S., 3.6.77.

See also, McConnell, T.R. and Berdahl, Robert O. "Planning mechanisms for British transition to mass higher education", Higher Education Review, 4, 1, Autumn 1971, pp.3-22; and Pedley, Robin. Towards the comprehensive University. The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1977.

Others, usually supporters of the comprehensive movement in secondary education, suggest that the polytechnics will inevitably expand at the expense of traditional universities. Brunsdon for example, a supporter of Model E, believes that by the 1990s public sector colleges "should have significantly closed the gap in terms of staff and resources". The nature of their expertise; their greater familiarity with Model E type students (e.g. through HND, Dip. HE and their more heterogeneous entry to degree courses); the extensive provision of part-time education; their familiarity with multi-purpose course planning; their more interactive and flexible system of academic organisation; all these will give them a considerable edge. He believes that inevitably only a few universities will survive untouched - "In the great urban centres, where higher education will be increasingly concentrated because of the need with close contact with population masses, the style of the polytechnic and the university are likely to merge".<sup>27</sup>

It will be recalled that Sir Walter Perry, the Vice-Chancellor of the Open University, has depicted a different scenario but with a similar ending. The Open University will increasingly cater for more vocationally oriented courses with only the preservation of the Oxbridge model of the traditional pattern of university education.

Dorotea Furth believes that polytechnics, which are a form of what she calls Short-Cycle Higher Education, have a basic identity crisis. To obtain prestige they have to follow university norms and so reject their own specific functions. A possible solution could be found in the context of recurrent education.

However, in the meantime they are faced with a basic dilemma: whether to pursue their objectives through a gradual integration with the university sector or through a more or less independent and parallel development.

Furth argues that separate development reinforces the dichotomy

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27. "Model E students will radically change the system", T.H.E.S., 1/9/78.

between "noble" and "less noble" institutions, but it may also contribute to such a large and widely diversified offering of all types, levels and patterns of study that, sooner or later, the traditional university sector will represent only a minority in the overall system and gradually lose its dominant position: "integration among equals" could then be envisaged as a realistic possibility.<sup>28</sup>

Trow introduces another dimension to the discussion. When comparing American and British higher educational systems, he argued that "if one were to try to identify one aspect of British higher education which 'stands for' the complex of historical, institutional and normative factors preventing the adoption of an American pattern of higher education in Great Britain, it might be the nature of the bachelors degree, of high and approximately uniform standard throughout the system of higher education". He argues that the defence of such a system ensures that the number of institutions that can gain university status will remain small and that the number of students ever gaining university entrance must also continue to be relatively small. Finally he points out that there are costs in maintaining a high and uniform standard - "It helps prevent the emergence of a unified system of higher education, including vocational, academic and professional studies in a wide range of standards. It is enormously expensive in staff time. This not only keeps staff-student ratios and costs high, thus restricting numbers, it also focuses energies and attention on under-graduate education, and contributes to the complex of factors hindering the development of post-graduate training on a large scale. That in turn inhibits the development of new subjects and sub-disciplines. The focus on the first degree (and thus on under-graduate education) is a powerful conservative force in British education."<sup>28</sup>

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28. Furth. Short-Cycle Higher Education, p.39.

29. Trow, Martin. "Binary dilemmas - an American View", Higher Education Review, 1, 3, Summer 1969, pp.27-43.



Summary

The binary system of higher education in itself presents barriers to the planning and co-ordination of higher education in the U.K. By keeping the two systems apart, status inequalities seem to be accentuated rather than reduced, at least in the short term if one adopts Furth's optimistic position. Even then, the force of Trow's argument suggests that with or without unification of the two systems there are other difficulties to be overcome before English higher education can diversify further. In this context, particularly given the absence of co-ordinative machinery at national or even regional levels, the possibility of developing multi-purpose institutions in the U.K. as "capstones" of a higher educational system along the lines of North American community colleges appears to be unlikely.

## CHAPTER 16

### ENGLISH COMMUNITY COLLEGES: CONCEPTS, FUNCTIONS AND PERFORMANCE

#### Introduction

Evidence that the English post-compulsory and higher education sectors are in the process of undergoing change at a rate more rapid than usual can be gleaned from an examination of the terminologies used for describing institutions in these various sectors.

As regards the latter area, including further education, reference has already been made to the inadequacy of definitions applying to higher and further education.

The confusion is even greater at the upper secondary level in which the English versions of community colleges have developed. Ronald King composed the following list of nomenclature applying to post-16 education which does not even make reference to community colleges - sixth form units, sixth form centres, sixth form colleges, secondary colleges, further education colleges, technical colleges, tertiary colleges, comprehensive colleges.

He argues that the confusion arises because of the increasing acceptance of comprehensive education without close prescription of the organisational form it should take. It is the means rather than the ends that appears uncertain.<sup>1</sup>

When it comes to a study of English community colleges, the researcher must again sift through a maze of titles. Linden West comments - "A plethora of terms exists to describe both the institutions (which in Cumbria at the moment we call 'Community Schools'), and the educational philosophies which are aspired to within them. The layman can be forgiven if he abandons attempts at understanding faced with the terminological jungle of 'community', 'adult', 'further', 'community adult education'

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1. King. School and College, p.188.

or 'adult education and the community', which recent discussion has precipitated." West feels that "the major problem is that terminology has been opted for without prior clarification of aims and objectives."<sup>2</sup>

In response to written enquiries about the extent of community college development in 1977, the following local education authorities made statements or sent articles or policy statements which illustrate West's comments very well.

The County Education Officer for Hampshire wrote -

"The expression of Community College generally is used to imply a secondary school which is also used by the local community as an 'Adult Education, Youth and Community Centre'. In Hampshire, however, the expression is used to mean a College of Further Education or Technical College which is also responsible for adult education in its catchment area."<sup>3</sup>

Humberside County Council sent a working paper on its educational system with comments on future developments. In a section entitled "The Community College" it had this to say - "A great deal of confusion attends the use of the term 'Community School' at present. It is helpful to draw a clear distinction between community use of schools which would receive general support, and the Community School which implies a school specifically planned and organised to provide education for the whole community. For this reason, this report will use the term Community College for such an institution.

There is a considerable variation throughout the country in the type of institution designated by the Local Authority as a Community College. Such institutions range from small schools whose pupils undertake community service, to large purpose-built comprehensives having provision for youth service, adult education, sports and recreation, public libraries, etc. Again the form of organisation can vary considerably from one in which the School Head is in overall control to a federal

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2. West, Linden. "Community Schools - adult and children: A Cumbrian AAE perspective", Adult Education, 49, 6, March 1977, pp.367-374.

3. Letter from Hampshire Educational Authority dated 7th September, 1977.

organisation in which school, youth service and adult education staff meet as equal members of the management team."<sup>4</sup>

The Director of Education of Derbyshire County Council advised that Derbyshire has only one Community College, "although there are a number of schools where youth, adult and community activities take place".<sup>5</sup> He enclosed a discussion document entitled "The Development of Community Schools in Derbyshire" which was prepared by a group of head teachers from the schools, together with two senior advisors from the Adult, Youth and Community Service. In Appendix A the group states "an understandable public confusion governs the consideration of 'community schools'. The fact that there are several distinctive kinds of 'community school' reflects the pragmatic and localised way in which these developments have occurred".<sup>6</sup>

However nearly all acknowledge the importance of Henry Morris and the development of village colleges in Cambridgeshire in the 1930s as a major inspiration to the development of so called community schools and community colleges.

For the purposes of the thesis therefore, the study of English community colleges will begin with the ideas of Henry Morris and the development of village colleges in Cambridgeshire for two reasons - firstly most educationists in England appear to agree that Morris made the single largest contribution to the development of school-based community educational theory and practice in English education, and secondly to provide a starting point for a general historical overview as virtually all of the significant developments affecting English community colleges occurred from the time of Morris.

On the second objective, developments will be broadly divided

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4. Report of Special Sub-Committee on the Future Development of L.E.A. Adult Education Provision in Humberside, June 1976, Section D2.
  5. Letter dated 6 December, 1977.
  6. Appendix A: "Three Types of Community School Development" in The Development of the Community School in Derbyshire.

into three waves as outlined by Arthur K. Stock<sup>7</sup> and Harry Ree<sup>8</sup> - the first occurring in Cambridgeshire in the 1930s, the second immediately following the Butler Education Act of 1944, and the third in the late 1960s and 1970s, involving the introduction of community education projects into disadvantaged urban areas as an outcome of the 1967 Plowden Report.

### The First Wave - The Village College

#### Concept and Functions

Following World War I rural areas in England found themselves entering into a period of serious decline compared with urban areas. Industrialisation had accentuated the drift of population from country to town begun in the late 18th century.

Henry Morris was acutely aware of this problem and in part sought a solution in the formation of village colleges. Watson Bowen, a headmaster of a village college, has summarised the thinking behind the solution as follows - "Something had to be interposed between the town and the individual village if the latter was not to be either swallowed up or devitalised. The solution which Morris provided for Cambridgeshire derived from the concept of the Rural Region. It seemed to him that modern developments in transport - which in the 1920s were exciting rather than frightening - could be harnessed to create a Rural Region compact, accessible and economic for the provision of educational and social amenities. A group of villages and hamlets would form the Region and in one of them - not necessarily the largest - would be housed a cultural and educational centre of the Region - the village college".<sup>9</sup>

In 1924 Morris drew up a memorandum outlining his proposals for the village college. Two years later the Hadow Report on The Education of the Adolescent "recommended (para.96) that in rural areas children

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7. Stock. "Community Colleges in the United Kingdom, International Review of Education, 20, 7, 1975.

8. Ree, Harry. Educator Extraordinary: The Life and Achievement of Henry Morris 1889 - 1961, Longman, 1973, p.132.

9. Bowen, F. Watson. "The Cambridgeshire Village College: A Cultural Centre for Rural Life", Aspects of Education, No.17, 1973, pp.99-110.

over the age of 11 should be transferred to Senior Schools, each serving a group of villages. In this the (Cambridgeshire) Authority saw their opportunity. They resisted the temptation to follow the common practice of building schools which could also be used for cultural activities in the evenings; instead they adopted the recommendations of the Morris Memorandum and decided to build for each Region a village college which would be a rural cultural centre within which was housed the secondary school, and which would provide for the countryman cultural facilities in no way inferior to those offered to urban communities." <sup>10</sup>

In his memorandum Morris felt "there must be a grouping and co-ordination of all the educational and social agencies which now exist in isolation in the countryside; an amalgamation which, while preserving the individuality and function of each, will assemble them into a whole and make possible their expression for the first time in a new institution, single but many-sided for the countryside".

Morris pointed out that in Cambridgeshire the County Council is the statutory authority for elementary education, secondary education, further education, agricultural education, the public libraries, juvenile employment and unemployment insurance, public health and agriculture, except that with regard to the latter two its powers were shared by the Rural District and Parish Councils. These various functions were performed separately in the villages and there was no co-ordination of County Council services with those of the minor local authority.

He argued that all these functions should be made to relate more closely to one another "in and around one institution".

His objective was "to establish in about ten carefully selected centres where Senior Schools are already organised, a system of village colleges which would provide for the co-ordination and development of all forms of education - primary, secondary, further and adult education, including agricultural education - together with social and recreational facilities and at the same time furnish a community centre for the neighbourhood".

For the sake of illustration he visualised the village college "as consisting of two wings or three-sided courts, one containing the school portion, the other accommodation for adult activities and with the village hall between ....."

Morris showed that he was considerably ahead of his time in educational thinking. He felt that the village college would provide for "the whole man", and "abolish the duality of education and ordinary life". It would also avoid "the dismal dispute of vocational and non-vocational education" and "would be a visible demonstration in stone of the continuity and never ceasingness of education. There would be no 'leaving' school. The child would enter at 3 and leave the college only in extreme old age. It would have the great virtue of being local so that it would enhance the quality of actual life as it is lived from day to day - the supreme object of education".

He saw it as an institution for the consolidation of the family unit - "Has there ever been an educational institution that at one and the same time provided for the needs of the whole family and consolidated its life - its social, physical, intellectual and economic life? Our modern educational institutions provide only for units of the family, or separate the individual from the family by time and space so they may be educated apart and under less natural conditions".

To facilitate co-ordination of educational services he felt that a new type of leader and teacher with a higher status was necessary. To get away from the old concept of the village schoolmaster he suggested this new position might be styled "the warden". He recognised that because of the broader scope of the warden's duties, his salary would have to be a composite of allocations according to the portion of his duties at the elementary, secondary, further, and perhaps agricultural education levels.

Morris envisaged that the control of the village college would be vested in a body of governors responsible to the Authority consisting of -

- (a) The managers of the elementary schools of the time.
- (b) Members appointed by the County Council as representing local interests, to supervise higher, including agricultural education.
- (c) A representative appointed by the Senate of the University of Cambridge.
- (d) Representatives of other interests, e.g. the Parish Council as owners of the recreational ground.

Through such arrangements the village college could be a vital factor in the reinvigoration of rural local governments and in the development of local democracy - "the village college by linking up the local representatives of the county authority with the minor local authorities and uniting them in the concrete task of administering a many-sided local institution and powers visibly affecting the life around them from day to day, would revitalise rural local government. The Parish Council, still exercising its own powers, but concerned in the exercise of larger ones, would be endowed with new life. Good government and self-government might at last be combined in the countryside. Rural local government languishes because there is no institution which provides a centre of reference and a means of expression. The village college would meet that need."

Finally he saw an opportunity for promoting creative architecture through the village college - "Our state system of education has not yet produced noble architecture on the same scale as that of all the other great movements of the national spirit. And there has been no public architecture in the English countryside since the Parish Churches were built - that is, since the middle ages. Apart from these inheritances from a past age, the biggest and most impressive public buildings in the countryside are the asylums and the workhouses; big asylums and poor schools - a sight to put all heaven in a rage."<sup>11</sup>

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11. Morris, H. The Village College. Being a Memorandum on the provision of Educational and Social Facilities for the Countryside, with Special Reference to Cambridgeshire, Cambridge, Printed at the University Press, 1925. See Appendix to Ree, Educator Extraordinary.



### Summary of Concept and Functions

R. J. McCloy has provided an excellent summary of the objectives of the village college, which, according to him, are -

- "1. To provide country children with education equal to that available to urban children;
2. To build up a rural civilisation through a distinctively rural educational system;
3. To provide a localised yet effective educational system which (a) would group in one establishment statutory and voluntary activities; and (b) facilitate genuine local control and participation;
4. Provide for the "whole man";
5. Provide community leadership and facilitate local democracy;
6. Meet the instructional, educational and social needs of the community - child and adult".

Overall he felt three features characterised the memorandum and this list of goals -

- "1. The emphasis upon the central role of the local community - its needs and its rights, both to participate and govern;
2. The insistence of the community's needs are such that the distinctions made (a) between educational and social needs, and (b) between statutory and voluntary provision, when institutionalised, are largely invalid;
3. The extensive and almost limitless role of the institution - the village college - which would, in consequence be needed".<sup>12</sup>

### Performance

On the 30th October, 1930, Sawston Village College opened. It had a separate hall, an adult wing and library for shared use by school and community. There was a Youth Employment Office housed in the school, a mechanics workshop specially biased towards agricultural engineering (paid for by a private benefactor), playing fields for use by both the village and the school, and a medical services room and a warden's house.<sup>13</sup>

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12. McCloy, R.J. "Community Colleges", Local Government Studies, Part 1, June 1974, pp.47-56.

13. Ree. Educator Extraordinary, p.42.

By 1967 there were 12 village colleges with 25 full-time tutors and 800 part-time tutors for adult studies. 10% of the county attended adult education classes compared with a national average of less than 4%.<sup>14</sup>

McCloy reported that by the time Impington Village College was established in 1939 most of Morris' ideas had been implemented.<sup>15</sup>

Not all of Morris' dream could be put into practice, however. The memorandum implied that village colleges should be based on unselective comprehensive schools which were not introduced into Cambridgeshire until 1972.<sup>16</sup> Until that point the village colleges did not enrol students selected for grammar school education - estimated to be about 25% of the total school population.<sup>17</sup>

The Authority was unable to include primary schools as constituent parts of the village colleges. However, McCloy points out that "Community Primary Schools" were authorised for villages that do not have colleges, and added that this movement gained support from the Plowden Report which defined a community school as one "which is open beyond the ordinary school hours for the use of children, their parents and, exceptionally, for other members of the community".

McCloy observed that the village college has not sought to develop educational programmes with a distinctive rural orientation. While there has been a concern to develop secondary education that meets the needs of local pupils, in practise these needs have not been found to be different from those of children in towns.<sup>18</sup>

College governing boards appear not to be such dynamic factors in the promotion of "genuine local control". In a review of the Minutes of

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14. Turner, Barry. "Rural Cambridgeshire", Education and Training, vol. 14, 4 April, 1972. Reprinted in The School and the Community, In-Service Education, Education Department, Tasmania, 1975.

15. McCloy. loc.cit.

16. Ibid.

17. Edwards, G.D. Community and School: The Village Colleges, paper prepared for the Education Department, County of Cambridgeshire, 1970.

18. McCloy. op.cit.

Meetings held by 12 college governing boards from the period 1965 to 1971, McCloy found that the governors "recognise their task primarily in terms of responding effectively to issues identified by others - the Warden, the Authority". The review also indicated that the governors tended to view the various services of the college independently of each other rather than a part of a co-ordinated system, and that the principal pre-occupation, even within that limitation, is with its material and not its curricular needs.<sup>19</sup> Morris' vision of "a system of village colleges which would provide for the co-ordination and development of all forms of education ..... together with social and recreational facilities .....<sup>20</sup> apparently is not being vigorously embraced and pursued by the college governors.

McCloy also points out that public participation in the colleges, though high by national standards, indicates that it is a minority of the population that makes use of the college facilities (never more than 25% is quoted). Many more women than men attend the adult courses, and the use of daytime further education is minimal.

Students have the opportunity of taking part in a members' association but McCloy reports that new clubs make use of the college without affiliating to the association and, by implication, even if they did would benefit very little as the main bodies of the associations rarely meet more than once a year. The objectives of the associations are to make suggestions for adult classes and other activities and improvement of facilities for members, to raise funds for grants to clubs, to purchase new social amenities equipment and to sponsor new activities, etc. It is at the sub-committee level that members get more deeply involved in the associations and therefore in the colleges. McCloy notes that sub-committees are rarely convened to meet more than twice a term. He concludes "the assessment of the numbers participating in the decision-making process of the college shows that rarely more than 20% of association members are actively involved. Bearing in mind that the Association will represent but a minority

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19. McCloy, R.J. Community Colleges, Local Government Studies, Part 2, October 1974.

20. Morris. The Village College.

of the population it is clear that much remains to be achieved before the participatory community involvement implied by Morris is realised".<sup>21</sup>

Population growth and the movement for comprehensive secondary education have affected the development of village colleges. In 1970, G. E. Edwards, the previous Chief Education Officer of Cambridgeshire pointed out that the village colleges were not big enough to support all through 11-18 comprehensive.<sup>22</sup> McCloy in 1974 also found that "the small form entries of most of the village colleges was held to inhibit the early introductions of comprehensive education". He also noted on the other hand that the introduction of comprehensive education presented opportunities for some colleges, notably the formation of the Ely Federation of village colleges which consist of four village colleges with a single governing body and joint planning body of "heads". The federation implies a union "involving the whole community, embracing secondary schools (including a sixth form centre), adult and youth activities".<sup>23</sup>

Edwards predicted that as the village colleges grew larger, the role of the warden would have to change. "While it would be quite mistaken to separate the functions discharged by the warden into two distinctive responsibilities, that of headmaster of the school and the principal of the adult and youth activities, more delegation of responsibility will obviously take place. In the future there may be a professional head of the school who will remain responsible to the warden, but who may discharge some of the functions now associated with the office of warden".<sup>24</sup> The inevitable question must arise how far can such delegation occur without causing a serious split between the secondary school component on the one hand and the youth and adult service components on the other - a situation which would probably lead to a questioning of the viability of the village college concept beyond a certain institutional size.

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21. McCloy. loc.cit.

22. Edwards. loc.cit.

23. McCloy. Local Government Studies, Part 1.

24. Edwards. loc.cit.

## The Second Wave: (1) The Community College in Leicestershire

### Introduction

Throughout the 1930s the village colleges of Cambridgeshire attracted national attention and, in the opinion of Edwards, would have been the model for many educational developments but for the interruption of World War II.<sup>25</sup> When the war ended Leicestershire, Peterborough, Derbyshire, Somerset and Devon expressed interest in the village college experiment,<sup>26</sup> but only Leicestershire introduced Morris' ideas on a significant scale.

### Concept and Functions

Leicestershire was the first Authority to coin the expression "community college".

The community college proposal, based on the village college concept, was first outlined in the "Leicestershire Scheme for Further Education and Plan for County Colleges" submitted to the Ministry of Education in 1946 in response to the 1944 Education Act's requirements that all local education authorities submit plans for the development of secondary and further education. In 1953 the term "community college" was adopted officially as a replacement for "county college" - a term which by then was unacceptable to the Ministry of Education as it had become confused with the description of proposed colleges for compulsory part-time day release. The concept was later developed in 1949 by Stewart Mason, the then Director of Education in Leicestershire in a memorandum entitled "Community Education".<sup>27</sup> Mason was strongly influenced by Henry Morris and educational developments in Cambridgeshire where he had been H. M.

### Inspector.<sup>28</sup>

25. Ibid.

26. Stock. "Community Colleges in the United Kingdom" International Review of Education, 20, 7, 1975; and Ree. Educator Extraordinary, pp.135-140.

27. Fairbairn, A.N. The Leicestershire Community Colleges, National Institute of Adult Education, London, October, 1971.

28. Harvey, Bernard R. "The Community College in Leicestershire: An Interim Report", Studies in Adult Education, Vol.3, 1971, pp.140-153.

The scheme was based on the assumption that further education facilities could only be developed by multi-purpose institutions. It was proposed that colleges of further education should act as community centres in towns such as Market Harborough, Melton Mowbray, Wixton, Coleville, Hinkley and Loughborough, but in other areas, depending upon the population levels, community colleges along the lines of the Cambridge village colleges should be developed.

The core of the community colleges was regarded as being composed of the assembly hall, gymnasium, craft rooms and playing fields, together with the county library. Youth and adult wings were to be added as further developments of the concept.

As with the Cambridge village colleges there was to be a warden responsible for all the functions of the multi-purpose college whose purpose was to "weld it into one organic community unit".

There was to be generous staffing so that instructors could travel to the smaller outlying villages to organise courses.<sup>29</sup>

McCloy perceived three recurring themes in Mason's thinking which were very similar to some of the ideas put forward by Morris - "the importance of buildings, the necessity of appointing a warden to supervise all activities and the denial of the charge that the college would have a deleterious effect upon tributary villages". On the last similarity Mason spoke of developments in Cambridgeshire as follows - "In areas where village life was at the lowest ebb, where no form of group cultural activity was to be found, and where no voluntary effort on behalf of the youth of the village existed, the establishment of a village college in the neighbourhood gradually infused new life into moribund or disintegrating communities". This came about in two ways. First the provision of wider opportunities for study and recreation which had not previously existed and secondly the active encouragement of tutors for adult studies to go out into the community.<sup>30</sup>

29. Fairbairn. op.cit. pp.5-6.

30. Mason, Stewart. Extracts from the Memorandum Entitled "Community Education" Presented to Leicestershire Education Committee, March, 1949, Appendix A to Fairbairn, Leicestershire Community Colleges, p.34.

McCloy points out however, that though the Leicestershire community college is based on the ideas of Morris, Mason developed certain new themes - the policy of two types of college appropriate to community size, a formula for joint LEA-community funding for community facilities within colleges, a more detailed emphasis on the nature of local managerial control of colleges, and the rejection of adult education centres separate from the community and further education colleges.<sup>31</sup>

Community colleges were designated into two grades according to their sizes and the needs of the areas they served. Grade I encompassed the following facilities - adult common room, adult games room, lecture/music room, committee room, youth common room and youth games room. Grade II which was regarded as "the first instalment of grade I" encompassed the following - common room, games room, lecture/music room, and committee room.

To help extend facilities, the authority adopted the principal of joint action with the local community. For this purpose they assumed the school assembly hall would be the central point of the scheme. Where joint action is agreed, adult amenities could be added and could take the form of an enlarged hall with full stage equipment, or of adult changing rooms, or of committee/discussion/common rooms, or some combination of all three. The authority would add an equivalent amount to the sum raised by the community.

The joint scheme principle was extended to cover local playing fields and recreation grounds where they were situated within easy access of schools. In return for use by schools, the authority would help maintain the grounds.<sup>32</sup>

General management of the day-to-day affairs of a community college was to be directed by the college council under the supervision of the governors of the community college and the direction of the local education authority. It was proposed that council should have representation from adult student members, affiliated bodies, staff and governors

31. McCloy. Local Government Studies, Part I.

32. Fairbairn. loc.cit.

and some co-opted members.<sup>33</sup> The Leicestershire scheme viewed community colleges as one out of three types of community centres for Leicestershire. The other two were the college of further education and the village centre or, in towns, the neighbourhood centre based on a primary school. The community college like the village college, was to be based in secondary schools. All three community centres however were to be placed under the control of local management committees wherever possible.<sup>34</sup>

Mason, unlike Morris, specifically rejected the development of separate adult education centres. He considered such a policy, if accepted would lead to the revision of "such centres only in urban areas with a considerable population". He also felt that it would be unwise to "segregate one aspect of community education from the rest". He concluded that "the colleges of further education and the community colleges would provide ample accommodation for both the more formal studies and those which for convenience can be classed as social and recreative. Under one roof there should be constant interaction between these two aspects, by which each contributes to the other and both to the general well-being of the community centre".<sup>35</sup>

### Early History

The Leicestershire scheme for further education was accepted by the Ministry of Education in 1951.

The first community college was based at Ashby de la Zouch in 1954. Stewart Mason ensured a small portion of moneys received for "minor buildings" programmes was spent on community education facilities.

Initially this meant an adult wing for some secondary schools. An adult

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33. McCloy. loc.cit.

34. Fairbairn. op.cit. pp.6-7.

35. Ibid. Appendix A, p.32.



wing was added to Ashby College in 1958 complete with common room, coffee bar, lecture room and an office for the tutors.<sup>36</sup>

In 1962 the government introduced a very small building programme specifically for youth. Leicestershire took up the maximum amount it could secure every year and channelled funds almost entirely into youth wings. These tended to be unstructured areas used for games, dances and other activities, flanked by an attractive coffee bar, a hobbies area and a couple of quiet or committee rooms, a youth tutors office, cloakrooms, etc.<sup>37</sup> Ashby College became fully integrated in Mason's term with the addition in 1964 of its own youth wing.

A college council, management committee and programme committee began to develop at Ashby. In 1955 the constitution and a scheme of management was approved by the county council. It provided for a college council with the following representation - one representative for every 50 students; two representatives from every affiliated body; one representative from each 50 members of the youth wing; officers of the community college; 6 representatives of the teaching staff of college; and 6 representatives appointed by the governors.<sup>38</sup> By 1977 there were 30 community colleges in Leicestershire.<sup>39</sup>

Oadby College, which was set up in 1964, was the first to implement Mason's ideas on joint authority - community funding for accommodation facilities. Oadby community took the initiative in requesting the formation of a community college and raised £3,000 towards the costs of the adult wing. The County Education Committee found the balance of £8,000 required for the wing.<sup>40</sup> In 1971 Harvey reported that communities at four other colleges were also raising money to add to the standard provision.<sup>41</sup>

Another interesting aspect of the Leicestershire situation is

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36. Ibid. p.9.

37. Holmes, Brian. "Leicestershire, United Kingdom", in Case Studies of Educational Innovation: II at the Regional Level, Part I, Chapter II, CERI, OECD, 1973, p.91.

38. Fairbairn. loc.cit.

39. "In praise of older students", T.E.S., 16/12/77, p.16.

40. Fairbairn. op.cit. p.10.

41. Harvey. Studies in Adult Education, p.145.

the differences between them caused by different contexts in which they have to operate. Some have links with working men's clubs (e.g. Ibstock), others such as Lutterworth serve rural areas, and others situated in compact dormitory suburbs of Leicester such as Birstall emphasise special provision for young women with children. A few house a branch of the public library though the County Library Committee wanted branches near main shopping centres - a condition which only a few colleges could fulfil. County library branches operate in conjunction with the school library at Ashby, Enderby and Ibstock. These are used by the general public and the school during the day. Fairbairn points out that one problem about such dual use is that there must be "dual space" for the two kinds of library provision.<sup>42</sup> Such variety suggests that the colleges do show some degree of interest in and response to local community needs.

#### The Leicestershire Plan: Effects of Comprehensive Reorganisation

Community colleges were initially based on the secondary modern schools. Grammar schools were not involved.<sup>43</sup> In 1965 the "Leicestershire Plan" was approved by the Labour Government as one of the six recommended models for comprehensive reorganisation of secondary education. The way was now set for an involvement of grammar schools in the community college pattern.

Leicestershire opted for a progressive system of primary schools, high schools, upper schools and community colleges. In 1968 amendments were made to the Plan to enable the move towards four year high schools for pupils aged 10-14 to take place. Leicestershire was preparing for the time when the statutory school leaving age was to rise from 15 to 16 in the 1972-1973 period. At that point it intended all pupils to transfer at the age of 14 from high schools to upper schools.<sup>44</sup>

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42. Fairbairn. op.cit. pp.10-14.

43. Holmes. Case Studies of Educational Innovation. p.92.

44. Ibid. p.28.

The introduction of the Leicestershire Plan encouraged a re-think of how and where community colleges were to be built. Brian Holmes notes that once the comprehensive system was adopted, grammar schools became increasingly upper comprehensive schools and in the process became more interested in community education.

It became possible to base community colleges on either the high school, or the upper secondary school. However, the preference has been for the latter wherever possible.<sup>45</sup> All new upper schools are thought of as community colleges and according to Harvey from this point on "the Leicestershire development outgrew its Cambridgeshire paradigm."<sup>46</sup>

Fairbairn the current Director of Education in Leicestershire has maintained that the new type of upper-secondary school provides opportunities based on the following principles:

1. Buildings designed for use by all those over 14 at all times of the day whether in full-time schooling or not.
2. Design incorporating the opportunity for as much freedom of choice of activity as possible.
3. All age groups having equal opportunities and parity of esteem.
4. The college able to enjoy administrative unity with staff appointed by virtue of their overall interest in the life and activities of the college as a whole.

In addition to the usual provision for secondary school studies, the planning of the new type of community college had to consider the provision for adult, youth, and 6th form areas. These are integrated around a central restaurant area open from 11 am till 10 pm.<sup>47</sup>

The first fully planned community college based on these principles opened at Countesthorpe in 1970. Money for the "sixth form centre", the "youth centre" and the "adult centre" was pooled and one integrated unit designed.<sup>48</sup>

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45. Holmes. loc.cit.

46. Harvey. Studies in Adult Education, p.143.

47. Fairbairn. op.cit. p.16.

48. Harvey, Bernard. "The Community College", Forum, 15, Spring 1973, pp.92-94.

Adults have the usual day time and evening opportunities for study and recreation. They may also study during the day time alongside young people in the college. To emphasise that the new community college is departing from the village college model there are no areas of special designation for youth or adult. "Use defines the areas".<sup>49</sup>

Bernard Harvey comments that there has been a departure from the original pattern of staffing involving the position of a warden/headmaster. The duality of role "has become less evident over the years and many wardens now see the college as one unit developing an integrated approach to education for the community. This growth and development is evident not only in the Countesthorpe college building but also in the new title - Principal - recently adopted for the head of all community colleges. Again this integrated approach is evident in the single title of these institutions, for example Countesthorpe College, Bosworth College ..... The old duality of use, of educational ideas, of a split personality has now almost gone."<sup>50</sup>

In addition to the warden now renamed principal, each community college has staff with a special responsibility for adult studies. The first adult tutors appointed at Ashby were expected to spend about 40% of their time on day-time teaching and 60% on adult/community work. According to Harvey this has been the pattern ever since. The first youth tutor at Shepshed was appointed on a similar basis in 1963.

In 1971 Harvey reported that in the beginning there were tensions between adults and youth tutors which are still evident in some places. However joint programming was not uncommon, and the opening of Countesthorpe College introduced a new structure of staffing aimed at breaking down these kinds of divisions.<sup>51</sup>

A department of community education was established in the new college. The head of the department was to be assisted by two community tutors to work either with young people or adults. In 1973 Harvey reported

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49. Harvey. Studies in Adult Education, p.146..

50. Harvey. Forum.

51, Harvey. op.cit. pp.148-149.

that 11 of the 16 colleges then in existence now had community education departments. He felt that these and other new staffing ideas "where clearly we are no longer thinking about a school and pupils, and a community college and adults, but rather about a college for all people with a principal in charge of it will be incorporated into the planning for new colleges."<sup>52</sup>

### Issues and Trends

#### Parity of Esteem Amongst Teachers

Leicestershire is making a strong effort to create the conditions that will encourage a sense of unity of purpose within the community colleges. For example in-service training for part-time youth workers and part-time teachers of adult education is a major concern of the authority, presumably to create a sense of equality between all community college staff - full-time, part-time, secondary school teachers, adult education teachers and youth workers - as well as to raise professional standards. Part-time teachers of dress, embroidery and allied crafts can undergo part-time studies over three years or on a sandwich basis over one year with Loughborough College of Art and Design in conjunction with the University of Nottingham's Department of Adult Education. Successful completion of these courses carries the award of the college and a university certificate in adult teaching.<sup>53</sup>

In 1971 Fairbairn thought it desirable that in the future all or most of the teachers now appointed to schools could be re-appointed to the community college with the understanding that their work would be conducted partly in school and partly with adults. "I am sure that in the future this is something that will have to be grappled with at national level as the principle of the continuity of education from school to adult life becomes more widely accepted".<sup>54</sup>

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52. Harvey. Forum.

53. Harvey. Studies in Adult Education, pp.150-151.

54. Fairbairn. The Leicestershire Community Colleges, p.22.

Joint Child-Adult Enrolments in Full-Time Courses.

Fairbairn also detected that there was a trend towards greater day-time use of colleges by adults, particularly women, and foresaw leisure time day classes spilling over into the school. Building facilities for housing adult work would be increased beyond the levels required solely for strictly school needs -

"It is not fanciful to foresee the day when adults and older children will work together in daytime classes and adults will take their mid-day meal at school."<sup>55</sup>

Two years later the trend had already begun for adults to join full-time school classes at several Leicestershire community colleges, particularly at Burleigh College, which achieved some press coverage, and Countesthorpe. As a result, Fairbairn as Director of Education for Leicestershire had to issue a memorandum in "an attempt to regularise the situation that was beginning to develop in an ad hoc way. In addition to their examination fees, adult students were to pay the same tuition fee as further education students. Means were also provided so that school budget could be compensated from further education allocation if adults were accepted in sufficient numbers to classes". Enrolments tended to be in courses at the "O" and "A" Levels of the General Certificate of Education.<sup>56</sup>

The Times Educational Supplement reported that official union reaction has not been encouraging. "Neither the National Union of Teachers (NUT) nor the National Association of School Masters - Union of Women Teachers is keen to encourage integration and they are highly sceptical about the way it works." A NUT spokesman stated that the union would be opposed unless we are satisfied that the educational and social development of the children would not be impaired.<sup>57</sup>

Mary Hughes, a teacher at Burleigh Community College gives very

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55. Ibid. p.21.

56. See - "In praise of older students", T.E.S., 16.12.77, p.16, and Hughes, Mary "Adult Education on the cheap: an extension of adult education provision into the school classroom", Adult Education, 50, 4, November 1977, pp.226-232.

57. T.E.S. loc.cit.,

restrained support for adult enrolments in public examination classes, and hints at the possibility of the college operating a kind of "cooling out" function through counselling - "I am in favour of maintaining an 'open door' policy as far as admissions are concerned, but obviously as interest in the scheme increases this has become more difficult. One misplaced adult can do untold damage to the continuing success of the scheme of this nature. The relatively high drop-out rate in the early weeks of the academic year may be a form of natural selection that justifies keeping an 'open door' policy as long as teachers do not see this as a failure on their part. For this reason it is vital that there is a body (the Community Education Department at Burleigh) able to counsel and advise students before and during time in classes and who is seen by the participating teachers as an available resource to turn to if they should encounter any difficulties in implementing the system".<sup>58</sup>

Unlike the situation reported by Clarke in his study of San Jose College in California<sup>59</sup>, where counsellors attempt in part to protect students from a sense of failure caused by over-estimating their ability, Mary Hughes would want the teachers rather than the students protected from a sense of possible failure.

Loughborough College School became Burleigh Community College in 1972. In addition to providing statutory education provision for the 14-18 year olds, its brief included the provision of "the social, recreational, educational and cultural activities of the community of Loughborough and the surrounding area". Provision of a creche was particularly encouraging for some women wishing to study in the day time when child care facilities were available. Given an apparent trend of joint child-adult enrolments - a trend which Fairbairn does not view as "fanciful" - it seems to be a distinct possibility that adult enrolments, particularly amongst women, could create serious tensions between teachers and the authority. This could become particularly critical if "building facilities for housing adult work are not increased beyond the levels required solely for

58. Hughes. Op.cit. pp.230-231.

59. Clark. The Open Door College.

strictly school needs".

### Participatory Management and Local Control of Finance

According to Graham Williams, Head of Community Education at Welland Park College in Leicestershire "the two major characteristics of the Leicestershire Scheme for Community Education through community colleges are firstly a participatory form of management and, second, local control of finance.

The participatory structure involves a two-tier committee system. The upper tier, called the Council, is "responsible for policy and general management: membership includes officers, professional staff, representatives of part-time teaching staff and governors, two representatives per affiliated society, and one student representative for every 50 class members. The lower tier is known as the Management Committee and consists of officers, professional staff and representatives of Council to a maximum of 16 members. The Committee is responsible for the day-to-day management of the college.

Williams has detected certain weaknesses in this structure. Annual General Meetings are poorly attended and the same people tend to be involved in both tiers of the structure raising questions "about the truly representative nature of the committees themselves". Affiliated societies do not have the same interests as class members. "The former are concerned with matters relating to premises such as access, availability, equipment and other facilities while the latter are concerned with activities - their nature, cost, promotion, etc. Furthermore, decisions regarding the class programme for next year will be taken by this year's students". He also detects potential conflict arising out of the vagueness of the constitution particularly in relation to the role of the Management Committee. The constitution states "the Council (or committee of management acting on its behalf) shall decide the annual programme of the college". He notes that this would suggest that the Committee has an executive function, but points out that it is also responsible to the



governors of the college. This has not been a serious problem but could become so if ever the Council and governors make conflicting demands on the Committee.

Williams also found the role of the principal to be vague. Though he is head of school and community education his statutory duty requires him to place the former first. "His perspective will almost always be different from that of the head of community education department, a factor that may result in the Management Committee receiving contradictory advice. The head of department is unable to negotiate the needs of community education with the principal as an equal; neither does he have direct access to the governors".

Williams' statement on the principal, made in 1978, spells out in slightly more detail the implications of increasing specialisation and delegation from the principal to other senior officers already referred to by G. D. Edwards in 1970 in connection with related situation of the head/warden of the Cambridgeshire village colleges.<sup>60</sup>

In 1969 a new system of financing non-vocational adult community educational activity was introduced into the Leicestershire community college system as a major underpinning of the policy of devolution of local control. Previously colleges received an allocation for the payment of salaries of part-time teachers "with no theoretical authority to over-spend". Local control of funds was not permitted and fees were fixed centrally.<sup>61</sup>

Harvey described the system as follows - "The college collects fees from students in the normal way, and pays to the Local Education Authority 36% of whatever sum is expended on teachers' salaries up to a maximum agreed by budget. If, for example, the bill for part-time teachers' salaries is £4,000, the LEA collects from the college £1,440, any excess going to the college funds. All other matters - rates of fee, number of students in class, transfer of money from one head to

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60. Edwards. Community and School.

61. Williams, Graham. "Managing community education: A Leicestershire case study", Adult Education, 50, 6, March 1978, pp.370-375.

another - are at the discretion of the elected members of the college. Colleges keep entirely any members' subscriptions or subscriptions by affiliated societies and these sums are not subject to public audit - though they are of course to approved auditors."<sup>62</sup>

This system permitted considerable flexibility in class programming arrangements and enabled colleges to fix fees to suit local conditions and in accordance with local educational priorities. However, financial cutbacks since 1974-5 have threatened this flexibility to some extent. As budgets were reduced in real terms, the percentage return on the salaries for part-time teachers increased. In 1976 it was raised to 50%. In 1977-78 it rose again to 70.5%. At the same time student fees rose and class programmes were cut back. From 1974/75 to 1975/76, Williams reported (presumably at Welland Park College) that the fee for a 20 week course was increased from £3 - £4.50, the class programme was reduced by 18%, and the enrolment dropped by 14%.

These reductions in budgets have encouraged the colleges to promote affiliation as "a low cost alternative to class provision". Williams suspects that given this trend, innovation may be difficult with "a council not only representative of the status quo but with the balance of influence heavily weighted in favour of affiliated societies". He notes that such financially stringent times require "a higher degree of sophistication in the management committee than a genuinely representative sample of ordinary college members could be expected to have" if the conflicts of interest in the structure are to be well handled.<sup>63</sup>

Hutchinson also comments on the complexities of maintaining this financial system given "inflationary costs increases within the accounting year, the non-alignment of the financial and academic years, and the problem of reconciling local record keeping with the sophisticated and computerised accounting practices of the authority". He points out - "It is paradoxical but none-the-less true that a scheme designed to

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62. Harvey. Studies in Adult Education, p.152.

63. Williams. loc.cit.

encourage more lay activity puts a premium on professional guidance and adequate clerical assistance. Without the first, local programming, reinforced by financial considerations, may merely consolidate the strong middle class character of participation. Without the second, the time and energies of professional staff can be frittered away on routine clerical and servicing tasks."<sup>64</sup> Despite these problems, Williams on balance still favours the managerial and financial structures of the colleges. The advantages of a participatory management structure in his opinion is that it can be "a training ground for the aspiring worker director" and "that it can act as a pressure group to support, safeguard and further the interests of the community education at both college and county levels. Here is the potential for a grass-roots lobby representative of rate-payers." As regards the financial system he argues that there are some advantages, notably the "freedom as against areas where programmes have been cut arbitrarily by the LEA office".<sup>65</sup>

#### Students and Public Participation.

Edward Hutchinson made a study of the Leicestershire community colleges for the academic year 1972/73. He issued a full report to the Education Committee of the Local Education Authority early in 1974.

He first noted that community colleges were one of "four distinct types of institution through which adult classes are provided in Leicestershire. The others were -

- " - 11 community centres, i.e. primary schools where the authority has supplemented local effort to provide additional accommodation for community purposes;
- 31 evening centres, i.e. evening use of unadapted school premises;
- 5 colleges of further education - mainly concerned with technical and other vocational education."

Between '1970-71 and '72-73 total enrolments in non-vocational

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64. Hutchinson, Edward. "Participation in the Leicestershire Community Colleges", Studies in Adult Education, 6, 2, October 1974, pp.125-145.

65. Williams. loc.cit.

adult classes increased by about 5,000 or 20%. The figure for community colleges was about 25% - one-third of this due to the opening of two new colleges and two-thirds to the growth in existing ones. He concluded that "In effect, of a growing total enrolment, a rising proportion now nearly three-fifths is accommodated in community-related schools with some special facility", i.e. community colleges or community centres.

As regards catchment areas, he estimated that at least 90% of the population over 18 were within practicable reach of some type of centre, though in two rural areas the percentage fell to 70%. His analysis also carried the implication that the community colleges achieved a greater take-up of the accessible population than do the general evening centres or colleges of further education.

He found it more difficult to make such comparisons with other counties - "The continuing scandalous inadequacy of national statistics makes comparison with other areas virtually impossible. In 1968-69 the figures returned by Leicestershire to the Russell Committee produced 57.5 enrolments per 1,000 population aged 18 and over. This was higher than the average calculated by the Committee for England (47.8) and for the East Midlands Region (44.8). Leicestershire's 57.5 in 1968-9 had become 76 in '72-3 which suggests that it is well up in this particular pecking order and that the community colleges are a large contributory factor".<sup>66</sup>

Hutchinson found the sample of students he studied tended to have better formal educational backgrounds "compared with national statistics" in three categories - those with school education beyond the compulsory minimum, those with continuative further education at both lower and higher levels, and those with certificates of educational and/or professional qualification. His sample also indicated a strong bias to middle-class women in the enrolment pattern of community colleges.<sup>67</sup>

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66. Hutchinson. op.cit.

67. Ibid. p.133.

As regards motives for enrolling, Hutchinson noted five groups that could be summarised and approximately weighted as follows:-

<u>Express or implied motive</u>	<u>Relative weights</u>
Utility	1
Physical fitness	2
Sociability	4
Learning-general or specific	5+
Interest/occupation	6

Unfortunately he did not attempt to define the categories of motive which makes for a few difficulties - for example - what is the difference between the learning and interest categories. He did point out, however, that these findings must be treated with care as the survey on which they are based occurred six months after initial enrolments when original motives may have been changed or modified.<sup>68</sup> A study of likes and dislikes based on free comment indicated "a high degree of satisfaction", but again by implication he cautioned against hasty conclusion by adding that "many of the dissatisfied would have dropped out well before February" - six months after the commencement of courses. The following weighted categories gives an approximate overview of favourable comment -

Accessibility ... ..	2
Pleasure in company of fellow students ...	3
Variety of subjects available ... ..	4
Facilities/Amenities ... ..	6
Helpfulness of teachers/staff ... ..	7
General friendliness/relaxed atmosphere etc.	12

Hutchinson added that there were relatively few statements about the policy of age integration and the general concept of the community college. This lack of commentary by adult students on aspects of the community college thought to be central to its concept by the policy makers suggests the Leicestershire colleges have to some extent an identity crisis - a clash between the formal identity described in official policy statements and the informal identity ascribed to it by the wider community. Hutchinson examined differences in enrolment

patterns between community schools based on the integrated model of the upper school and those based on high schools. He concluded "by all the criteria available there seems to be little doubt that the sample of students in upper school colleges had the higher proportion drawn from those with more extended education".<sup>69</sup> Though unable to draw firm conclusions for the reasons for this disparity, he tentatively concluded as follows - "It seems more probable that the better educated and relatedly more affluent are more mobile and better informed about the superior facilities available in upper school colleges. For instance, those attending high school college classes, particularly the women, tended to be a little more localised and to rely more on their legs. The overall impression of a difference of some substance in the recruitment patterns of the two groups of colleges appears to be sustained. The relative attractiveness of different schools to adult users would merit detailed enquiry over an extended period".<sup>70</sup>

His study of affiliation patterns produced some interesting results. He used four main categories - community service and action; social; arts and pastimes; physical activities. To facilitate analysis, he divided the colleges into zones, small urban, rural and greater Leicester. He found that the smaller urban areas had a higher average number of affiliations spread more evenly over the four main categories than colleges in the other two zones. Also high school colleges had a markedly higher average number of affiliations than had upper school colleges and that these were more evenly spread over the four main categories. Finally affiliations concerned with "physical activities" represented nearly half the total affiliations in upper school colleges but a little less than one-third in the high school college.<sup>71</sup>

Hutchinson concluded the overall study with some personal observations. He found "an inherent difficulty about the word 'community' that has not been resolved". He pointed out that definitions emphasising the theme of

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69. Ibid. pp.136-137.

70. Ibid. p.138.

71. Ibid. pp.140-141.

'the quality of appertaining to all in common' can be more realistically applied in townships such as Ashby-de-la-Zouch where the inhabitants are relatively self contained. However, in the case of the upper school he thought it was less obvious. The catchment area is wider making for less effective integration. In those circumstances he believes "the focus then tends to change from 'the college of the community' to 'the community of the college', from an outward - to an inward - looking stance".

However, he conceded that the authority has been trying very hard to make the colleges into centres of "life associated" instead of "school-completed" education. He acknowledged that the colleges provide convivial settings of great importance, but felt that as more of the colleges come to be based on age-integrated upper schools, the policy of encouraging extended community use of primary schools (with community centres attached) in the smaller places would become more important.

He noted the need for evaluation and monitoring of the trends he had observed. In this respect he felt that "the practice of seconding community education staff to take university diplomas and other in-service courses should make it more possible in the future".

Despite these good points he concluded - "Because they are school-based, the colleges are nevertheless less likely, however great their wish to do so, to be able to reach the educationally and socially disadvantaged for whom early school leaving was often a welcome release. The college adult programmes, heavily oriented towards recreation and leisure rather than towards work competence or social engagement, are entirely justifiable on their own terms but they are not able alone to provide the comprehensive service of adult education envisaged in the Russell Report. 'Outreach' services from the colleges and the development of special provisions will call for a review of area and local delegation of duties and the deployment of professional staff".<sup>72</sup>

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72. Ibid. pp.143-145.

Community Colleges Outside Leicestershire

Derbyshire has one community college - Hope Valley Village College - which was opened by Henry Morris in 1958. In the late 1960s, Devon, to some extent under influence of the Chief Education Officer Elmslie Philip who had known Henry Morris, made proposals for the formation of community colleges based on certain secondary schools. The model used was the Cambridgeshire Village College. By 1977 there were 19 community colleges in Devon.<sup>73</sup>

In the same year the Chief Education Officer of East Sussex in a draft report on community colleges pointed out that community colleges had been established by more than 30 local education authorities in England and Wales "though the concept can vary considerably". The same authority illustrates that the Cambridgeshire/Leicestershire experiments are not limited to 11-16 age group secondary schools or to 14-18 upper secondary schools. Portslade, the first of three community colleges in East Sussex was set up in 1972 in an urban community of 20,000. It "comprises a mixed 11-18 comprehensive school for 1,333 pupils with extensive educational and recreational facilities for the whole community". The authority acknowledges that day-time use by adults of college facilities is very limited and that "secondary school pupils must have prior claim on the available accommodation". However, as in the case of the Leicestershire community colleges, adult enrolments into examination classes have become a small but established practice. Six adult students were accepted in G.C.E. "A" level courses at Portslade Community College in 1974. The experiment was considered successful and the local authority has given approval for the admission of up to 20 students to sixth form courses - a provision which "is now regarded as an integral and permanent part of the community college".

In fact the Chief Education Officer of East Sussex speculates that "in the 1980s, when the declining birth rate will begin to have an effect on secondary school numbers, there will be more scope for an

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73. Sharing and Growing. A short account of the growth and activity of Community Colleges in Devon, Devon County Council, Education Department, 1977.



expansion of day-time community use of school accommodation". In addition to the usual range of adult education and community education programmes, one can assume that adult enrolments into examination classes will continue to rise. He also raises a very interesting administrative problem posed by the unified approach involved in the philosophy of community colleges. He points out - "Community colleges do not fit neatly into the authority's administrative and advisory structure. This is to be expected since the service is organised in three branches - schools, further education and general services - to meet the needs of the County's schools and further education establishments. Community colleges, however, embrace both schools and further education provision and matters often arise involving more than one branch of the service." As a result in 1975, the Deputy Chief Education Officer was given overall responsibility for the administration of community colleges "in order to provide a single controlling influence on their development". This arrangement has been partially successful only, as the Deputy Chief Education Officer finds it difficult to give sufficient time to area education officers or college principals. It has been suggested therefore that a professional assistant from the County Education Department be appointed as liaison officer for community colleges, answerable to the Deputy Chief Education Officer.

The East Sussex community colleges also have a problem in relating to the County Education Department's advisory service. There are different advisory personnel for the schools section and the further education section of the County Education Department. "There is therefore no single advisor with responsibility for advising on community college development but rather a number of advisers who contribute towards the school and further education aspects of the college."<sup>74</sup>

It seems probable that similar community college developments in other counties in which the principal or warden combines school, adult

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74. Community Colleges in East Sussex. A draft report by the Chief Education Officer, 1977 (?)

education and youth work responsibilities that the LEAs in question would be under pressure to carefully co-ordinate and possibly even unify all aspects of administration relating to community colleges.

### The Second Wave: (2) Joint Use Projects

At the same time as community college developments were occurring in counties such as Leicestershire and Derbyshire, a more pragmatic movement was developing concerning the meeting of community needs by maximising the cost-benefit in expensive educational plant.

Though such considerations were involved in the village colleges of Cambridgeshire and the community colleges of Leicestershire for example, McCloy points out there are differences when first and second wave developments are compared. He argues - "It is suggested that ..... a distinction be made between (a) village colleges (or community colleges) which explicitly recognise their function in overall terms, e.g. the provision of an integrated and co-ordinated system of education and recreation after the Morris model and which can, inter alia, involve joint use of resources; and (b) joint use projects which have, at least in the initial stages, the more limited objective of providing facilities for specific activities".

He concedes that "the development of both concepts, and the growing commitment to identify a programme of objectives and an increasing recognition that rigid delineations of activities are unhelpful, may see a merging of these traditions".<sup>75</sup>

This "second stage" idea was taken up by Cumberland, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Monmouthshire.<sup>76</sup>

In a discussion paper entitled "The Development of Community Schools in Derbyshire" a group of head-teachers, and two senior advisors from the adult, youth and community service, used different terminology to explain the same development. They viewed the Cambridgeshire village colleges as the prototype for "the DUAL USE of secondary school buildings."

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75. McCloy. Local Government Studies, Part I.

76. Stock. International Review of Education.

"This concept was based on the principle of making full use of the only highly capitalised building likely to be provided for the village community."

The second stage began in the 1960s in Nottinghamshire. It involved collaboration "with the urban or rural district councils in the neighbourhood of new school building to erect ENHANCED DUAL USE sports facilities ....." They explain that "these projects were designed for joint casual use, and were usually managed as separate entities from their adjoining schools. It is from this strand of development that the problems of multi-purposes establishments, joint authority understanding, single or dual management decisions and questions of financial provision, have entered into the 'community school' debate".

In Nottinghamshire sports halls, swimming pools, multiple gymnasiums, squash courts - all weather pitches - and recently even an ice rink have been built in juxtaposition with schools.<sup>77</sup>

The most famous example is the community school at Sutton in Ashfield designed by architect Henry Swain who has acknowledged his debt to Henry Morris. He believed that community schools and colleges should have philosophies that bear in mind cultural and leisure activities of the communities surrounding them. The school has common rooms, lecture theatres, a health clinic, a creche, a day centre for old age pensioners and for physically handicapped adults. It also has the offices of the Youth Employment and Probation Service there alongside places to eat, drink and talk. There are shops, an ice rink and a theatre shared with the community.<sup>78</sup>

In the case of Derbyshire, "there is a joint use swimming pool at Etwall but the best example of this approach ..... is the Belper High School and Sports Centre".

These developments are conceptually different from what the Derbyshire discussion paper calls "the third element" in the "Community

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77. "Three Types of Community School Development", Appendix A to The Development of the Community School in Derbyshire.

78. Ree. Educator Extraordinary, p.137.

School" evolution - the concern with "increasing the effectiveness and relevance of education for statutory aged school-children in co-operation with their community. The paper names Chaucer Infants School at Ilkeston as an example. The school has been built with additional community facilities "principally designed to facilitate the link between parents and teachers". In more urban areas "community schools" have tended to move out of the school building "in order to continue a form of education more relevant to basic community needs". The paper emphasises that this approach does not necessarily involve extra facilities but the moves in that direction are helped when a policy of dual or enhanced dual usage is adopted by the LEA.<sup>79</sup>

#### The Third Wave: Urban Community Education Projects.

This wave commenced in the late 1960s and 1970s. It involved the combining of the first two waves to influence community education projects in new towns and inner-urban re-development schemes.<sup>80</sup> The catalyst for this wave was the 1967 Plowden Report which encouraged the idea of developing special provision for socially and economically disadvantaged areas to be referred to as "Educational Priority Areas (EPAs)".<sup>81</sup>

Madely Court Education and Recreation Centre, located at the southern end of Telford, a new town in Shropshire, is an example of one of the more ambitious "third wave" projects. The centre was built in the early 1970s and includes extensive playing fields and outdoor sports and leisure facilities, a 7-form entry comprehensive school and a joint use building which has swimming pools, games halls, social halls and bars as well as administrative accommodation.

The financing of the centre is co-operative involving the Shropshire Education Authority, Telford Development Corporation and Dawley Urban District Council. Together they formed a joint Telford Trust.

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79. Derbyshire discussion paper. loc.cit.

80. Stock. International Review of Education.

81. Ree. op.cit p.132.

Additional grants were gained from the DES and a private trust. The complex is used by "youngsters and adults" - for example, school and community both have access to a sophisticated cassette-stored information retrieval system.

In the first ten months more than 100,000 paid to take part in the activities of the "Court Centre" as the recreation centre is known. Many take part in the sporting facilities, others drop in for a drink at the bar or meet friends for a meal at the snack bar. Parent involvement includes helping out with hairdressing classes, supervision of costumes for the Christmas "happening" as well as clerical work. Fathers can help out in joinery and metalwork. The hope is that students will want to maintain an educational and recreational link with the "Court Centre" on completion of their secondary education.<sup>82</sup>

Another example - The Abraham Moss Centre at Manchester - mixes all the elements of the three waves. The Derbyshire Discussion Paper describes it as "a village in itself with cradle to grave educational facilities, branch library, shops, youth club, residential care unit, sports facilities and the necessary catering support".<sup>83</sup> It is the outcome of considerable co-operation between DES architects, the Manchester City Council, the libraries department, baths, laundries and parks, and social services.<sup>84</sup> The city of Manchester's Education Department provides a detailed inventory of the education facilities - "an 8-form entry comprehensive school; a college of further education; an adult education centre; a shared-use district sports centre and district library; a creche adjoining the children's library; a performing arts centre including theatre, drama studio and music suite, a youth wing that will double as a students' union facility during the day; an aged

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82. Ragget, Michael. "Estate: Madeley Court Centre, Telford", Education and Training, 14, 7 July, 1972, re-printed in The School and the Community, In-Service Education, Education Department, Tasmania, 1975.

83. Derbyshire Discussion paper. loc.cit.

84. Dunn, Alison. "Urban: Cheetham Crumpsall, Manchester", Education and Training 14, 6 June, 1972, re-printed in The School and the Community, In - Service Education, Education Department, Tasmania, 1975.

and handicapped peoples' club and a small residential wing that will house up to 13 staff and students".<sup>85</sup>

The site is just north of central Manchester and serves the areas of Cheetham and Crumpsall, an area described as "overshwhelmingly drab". Lower incomes are over-represented, 15% of the population are immigrants and community facilities are generally very poor. A major objective of the Centre is to up-grade the quality of life through community involvement. In the planning stages, Michael Hacker, one of the DES architects, argued against a rigid separation of school, college and sports centre. He spoke in terms of a "totality of resources". He also ensured that the interests of certain users were identified, e.g. the youth club, old people's club, lower and middle schools, which needed to have areas they could call their own. These provisions were not to be made in isolated ways but were to be linked to form a continuous campus. These ideas for separate but linked provision for the component parts of a multi-purpose institution are very similar to those of Henry Morris though on a grander scale.

An economic argument was brought forward in support of the proposal. In 1972 it was estimated that capital savings for the development of a unified scheme on one site would be of the order of £200,000, and there would also be substantial savings in running costs.

An additional facility was claimed out of moneys allocated for Educational Priority Areas - a short-stay residential block for 12 youngsters and a warden. This can be used when local families have to split up or during exam time when a quiet hostel could be useful for some.

Alison Dunn criticises the planners, however, for insufficient discussion with the locals. For example there was no official survey of what the people of the neighbourhood thought of the scheme. DES architects consulted some members of the local community but chief officers decided the general plan and the specific details of the Centre.<sup>86</sup>

85. Paper prepared by R. Mitson, the Principal of Abraham Moss Centre entitled The Abraham Moss Centre, Manchester, June 1974.

86. Dunn. loc.cit.

When fully developed the Centre is expected to have a total full and part-time population of approximately 5,000 students, with a day population of 2,000, and "approximately half that number making use of it on any evening".

The lower school "is designed as an almost self-contained school with areas and resources for about 90% of the activities of the 480 11-13 year olds. It has its own entrance from the public right-of-way through the Centre, and its own Headteacher, largely but not entirely autonomous". How much loss of autonomy is not spelt out unfortunately.

The Middle School also has a separate entrance and provides the 13-15 year old pupils with appropriate facilities for about 80% of their programme.

Although substantially self-contained, both lower and middle schools allow for a small percentage of activities outside the school, but presumably mainly within the Centre. This arrangement implies some degree of community service is encouraged and expected of the schools.

The proximity of the college of further education to the schools is expected to promote the mixing of vocational and academic studies. "Any wasteful duplication of courses may be reduced by bringing academic and vocational students together, and some valuable minority subject classes which could fail in school and college for lack of numbers may be sustained by holding them in the evening and opening them to all students and to all members of the community.

The Centre encourages individual members of the community to attend any course or class during the day as well as the evening. The District Library serves the school, college, adult education and general members of the public. There are no separate libraries in any of the schools or colleges. The sports centre is shared with the schools, college and the general public. It provides a 25 metre pool, a teaching pool, a sports hall including a specially designed climbing wall, a gymnasium, a dance/activity area and a weight training area, two squash

courts and an enclosed range where cricket, golf and archery may be practised indoors. It is claimed all these facilities will be available "for the benefit of the people of the community during evenings, weekends and holidays, along with public sauna baths, a refreshment bar and a licensed bar in the sports centre and a range of netball, basketball and soccer pitches, tennis courts, and grass pitches for soccer, rugby, hockey, cricket and athletics. There will be some community use of the sports centre during the school day also, including the possible use of the 25 metre pool by shift workers at the same time as school or college classes".

Office accommodation is provided in the administrative wing for the co-ordination of the social services and voluntary bodies within the area. The idea is to integrate all clerical and administrative services.

On curriculum development it is hoped there will be a concern for "the future as well as the past and the present and that it will be empirical and organic in development, encouraging the evolution of education alongside the evolution of society. It should undoubtedly exploit the excellent potential the Centre offers to blur the distinction between school and community, education and life, young and old, by involving parents and the community in the Centre and the students in the community".<sup>87</sup>

Many of the ideas involved in the planning of the Abraham Moss Centre are strikingly similar to those propounded by Henry Morris. He too was concerned with abolishing "the duality of education and ordinary life" and in creating "a visible demonstration in stone of the continuity and neverceasingness of education".<sup>88</sup> Michael Hacker's concept of a "totality of resources" for Cheetham and Crumpsall in the 1970s, though different in scale and time period, is functionally equivalent to the notion of Morris that all the services for which the Cambridgeshire

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87. Mitson. loc.cit.

88. Morris. The Village College, p.154.



County Council was responsible in the 1930s should be made to relate more closely to one another "in and around one institution".<sup>89</sup> Morris saw the village college as a means for reinvigorating the social, political and economic life of disadvantaged and declining rural areas. The planners of Abraham Moss Centre saw their project as a way of infusing life into a depressed inner-urban area. In these respects Abraham Moss Centre represents the extension of the Cambridgeshire village college philosophy into densely populated urban areas.

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89. Ibid. p.148.

PART VGENERAL ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY COLLEGE PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENTIN THE U.S.A., CANADA AND THE U.K.INTRODUCTION: QUESTIONS TO BE POSED

Questions to be posed fall under three areas -

i. The Concept

What are community colleges and what are their common characteristics?

What similarities and differences are there in the philosophical, social and economic factors underpinning their origins and determining their development?

ii. Developmental Patterns

What similarities and differences are there in their developmental patterns?

iii. Ideal Types

Is it possible to construct Weberian "ideal-types" as tools for analysing aspects of the interaction between community colleges and the wider formal educational context in which they operate on the one hand, and the community they serve on the other?

CHAPTER 17THE CONCEPTThe Institutions to be StudiedWithin Higher Educational Systems

North American Public Comprehensive Community Colleges

(including the community colleges of British Columbia and Alberta).

The Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAATs) of Ontario.

Colleges D'Enseignement General and Professionel (CEGEPs) of Quebec.

The Saskatchewan Community Colleges.

The Tertiary Colleges of England.

Within the Secondary Educational Sector

Community Colleges (including the village colleges of Cambridgeshire of England).

Joint-use projects involving secondary schools.

Urban community education projects.

Pre-conditions for the Development of the Community College Concept

Dorotea Furth has pointed out that the rapid and almost universal expansion of higher education over the last 15-20 years has led to the realisation that there is a need for major structural reforms of post-secondary systems if the variety of new functions assigned to them are to be fulfilled. This process in the major industrialised nations of the world has accompanied a breakdown of the deeply rooted tradition that higher education is for elite social groups only. Traditional universities must undergo change and new types of higher education will have to be developed to deal with increasing enrolments, a new diversified student body, and the rapidly changing manpower needs of highly industrialised societies. She points out that differing traditions and government policies have led to different structures but common trends are evident, particularly the search for greater diversification and better articulation of post-secondary education. Solutions are being sought to provide a greater variety of educational offerings (patterns of study, degrees, and ways in which to obtain them). The emphasis is on closer co-ordination and complementarity between different types of institutions - "flows of students, teachers and financial resources are being facilitated and comprehensive plans for the total systems are being developed".<sup>1</sup>

Her overview of O.E.C.D. member countries shows there is a pre-disposition towards the development of a variety of extra or non-university institutions which tend to offer programmes of a terminal and vocational orientation that are shorter in duration than the degree oriented

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1. Furth, Dorotea. "Short Cycle Higher Education: Some Basic Considerations" in Short Cycle Higher Education: A Search for Identity, O.E.C.D. 1973, p.13.

programmes of universities. She calls these institutions "Short Cycle Institutions" (SCIs) as opposed to Long Cycle Institutions, or universities.

The objectives and motivations behind the development and reform of Short Cycle Institutions are fourfold. First there has been a rapid expansion of university education accompanied by rising numbers of drop-outs and a changing nature in the general composition of higher education students. As the pressures on universities have increased, the need has been seen for more diversification. Secondly equality of opportunity for all has become a widely accepted educational idea. SCIs through wider geographic distribution, shorter duration of study and courses more adapted to attitudes and motivations of the less privileged could provide the means of easier access, especially if they offer courses whose successful completion qualifies the student to progress, without loss of time, into a relevant university programme. Thirdly industrial manpower requirements point to the need for qualifications and skills for which university education is too high and theoretical while secondary education alone is insufficient. Fourthly, SCIs are expected to inject that element of innovation, perhaps lacking in the universities, regarding new basic principles of higher learning, individualised education, combining education and work, more diversified curricula corresponding to the wider range of abilities now presenting themselves in the new enrolment patterns, and education for "self-fulfillment" or "individual development". SCIs, as new institutions with no well-formed traditions of their own, are expected to have greater built-in flexibility and to be closer to local needs and interests which could reflect more accurately the nature of the new higher education clientele.<sup>2</sup>

American and Canadian community colleges are seen as examples of SCIs operating as multi-purpose institutions in highly articulated

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2. Ibid. p.22.

or binary systems of higher education. The former have fairly close links with university education courses, have highly diversified curricula (academic, general and vocational of a terminal nature), and are geared to meet local or regional needs. They are less concerned with problems of national standards, are highly decentralised, and have considerable institutional autonomy. The CAATS of Ontario are examples of the binary model, involving complete administrative separation from the universities, and highly diverse curricula in type and level of studies offered without university links. They also tend to be specialised and professionally oriented as opposed to the theoretical and academic orientation of universities.<sup>3</sup> Despite the differences, as SCIs they owe in common their development to the set of circumstances outlined by Furth.

In the case of England, the widespread demand for greater articulation as well as diversification of provision within higher education generally has emerged in very recent years only, unlike the United States which experienced such demands immediately after the Second World War and Canada which in some provinces in response to these same pressures witnessed radical re-organisation of post-secondary education in the mid-1960s.

At this stage it may be worth speculating that educational ideologies in England may have helped to defer a broad vigorous demand for greater articulation in higher education. Elgayar, in a comparison of democratic tendencies in education in England and the United States, has pointed out that until 1944 England had a "class-conditioned system of education" in which wider opportunities for education for the lower classes was permitted and encouraged but not of the same kind and quality as the education received by the upper classes. However, it was only after 1944 that a serious attempt was made to promote equality of provision at the secondary as well as the primary levels. Comprehensive schools were promoted by advocates of greater socio-educational equality but did not make great headway as the predominant form of secondary educational provision

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3. Ibid. pp.17-18.

until the 1970s. Within the public sector the division between grammar schools and secondary modern schools still emphasised the elitist nature of English education. The system was now considered to be more democratic because nobody need be barred from entry into a grammar school because of an inability to pay, the state met all such expenses. As Elgayar points out, grammar school education was made available in terms of the ability to "profit" from it rather than the ability to pay for it.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the selection of those considered able to "profit" occurred at about the age of eleven through formal examination and testing. A poor performance at this point virtually precluded a student from access to this form of education for the remainder of his or her years in compulsory schooling.

In America, education has tended to be thought of as a universal right rather than as a privilege. By the time of the Second World War, the public comprehensive high school had become the established pattern for disseminating universal secondary education to all. After World War Two, the concern was not with establishing a pattern, as in England, but attempting to secure more equal distribution of equality of opportunity by reconstructing school districts, and by subsidising the school funds of poorer districts through the transfer of funds from richer ones. There was also a concern for equalising differences between urban and rural areas. The one major exception to this pattern was in the South where segregated schools were still the norm. Elgayar also points out that by this time the United States had achieved a considerable degree of equality of opportunity in access to higher education as well. The one major barrier left in some states being financial - meeting the cost of tuition fees.<sup>5</sup>

Earl I. Hopper has proposed a typology for the classification

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4. Elgayar, S.I.M. The Impact of Modern Democratic Thought on Education (with special reference to England and the United States). Thesis submitted in partial requirement for the degree of Philosophy in the University of London, Institute of Education, 1967, pp.350-357.

5. Ibid. pp.358-364.

of educational systems<sup>6</sup> which enables the comparisons made to be extended further. Elgayar's description of English education as "class-conditioned" can be re-defined in a more sophisticated form and, in so doing more light can be thrown on the reasons for England's later interest in the greater diversification and articulation of higher education compared with the United States. This approach will also help to explain the slow emergence in England of SCIs with functions similar or equivalent to some of the American and Canadian community colleges.

Hopper extended Ralph H. Turner's thesis - "Contest and Sponsored Mobility and the School System" - to formulate his typology. He argued that as societies industrialise they develop specialised and differentiated systems of education which have three primary manifest functions: the selection of children with different types and levels of ability; the provision of the appropriate type of instruction to the various categories of children created by the selection process; and the eventual allocation of trained personnel either directly to occupational roles or to agencies which specialise in occupational recruitment. As the last two are dependent on the first he argued that the structure of educational systems can be understood primarily in terms of the structure of their selection processes. His typology attempted to answer four questions about selection - how does it occur; when does it occur; who should be selected; and why they should be selected?

The first question looks at the degree to which educational systems have centrally administered selection procedures, and the degree to which the provision of education is standardised for populations as a whole (especially up to the point of initial selection). The second question looks at the degree to which educational systems are formally differentiated into specialised routes through which children are selected, trained and guided to future occupational roles and the

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6. Hopper, Earl I. "A Typology for the Classification of Educational Systems", Sociology, Vol.2, 1968, pp.29-46.

degree to which initial selections occur early in education careers. Hopper also examines ideologies relating to the how and when of selection. On the question of how, he adopts Turner's terminology of a "sponsorship" ideology versus a "contest" ideology. The former specifies "that selection via sponsorship is necessary in order for the 'best people' to be selected; that the sponsors are qualified by 'right' for the task; and that they will exercise good judgement in making selections". The latter specifies "that selection should not be determined through a centrally administered procedure but through the 'natural laws' of a 'free market'". On the question of when, he distinguishes two further types of ideologies of implementation: an "elitist" ideology and an "egalitarian" ideology. An elitist ideology specifies "that the maximum amount of education for each citizen should depend on his future ability to contribute to economic productivity; that 'intelligence' and 'educability' are determined primarily by hereditary factors such that some people could not possibly benefit from education above a given minimum; and that those who appear to be bound for elite positions should be separated at an early age from those who appear to be bound for lower positions so that the former gain in their confidence to lead and the latter in their willingness to follow". This ideology supports the view that initially selection should occur as early as possible, and that a relatively large number of routes should exist. An egalitarian ideology specifies, for example: that the maximum amount of education is the right of every citizen regardless of his future ability to contribute to economic productivity; that "intelligence" and "educability" are determined primarily by environmental factors such that with proper instruction all people could benefit from a maximum of education; and that those who appear to be bound for elite positions should work and play as long as possible with those who appear to be bound for lower positions so that the former will not lose touch with the "common man" and the latter will not become overly subordinate



and lacking in initiative. This ideology supports the view that selection should occur as late as possible, and that a relatively small number of routes should exist.

On the questions of who should be selected and why, Hopper argues that stratified societies develop fairly explicit ideologies which define the types of people whom the society values most highly and which justify why more power is given to them rather than to others. These are known as "ideologies of legitimisation". On this matter Hopper devised two continua which he then combined to create four ideal types. In answer to the question "Who should be selected?" he conceptualised a continuum ranging between polar properties: the first representing a quality of complete universalism; and the second - its opposite - representing a quality of complete particularism. In answer to the question "Why should they be selected?" he conceptualised a second continuum ranging between two polar types: the first representing a quality of complete collectivism and the second - its opposite - representing a quality of complete individualism. A particularistic ideology of legitimisation specifies that pupils should be selected primarily on the basis of their diffuse skills and only secondarily on the basis of their technical skills. The opposite - a universalistic ideology - specifies that pupils should be selected primarily on the basis of technical skills and only secondarily on the basis of their diffuse skills. When this continuum was combined with the "collectivism-individualistic continuum" he created four ideal types of "ideologies of legitimisation":-

a. Aristocratic ideology: an individualistic form of particularism

When particularistic selections are justified to the population in terms of the rights of those selected to privilege on the basis of their diffuse skills and ascribed characteristics one may refer to the 'aristocratic' quality of the ideology.

b. Paternalistic ideology: a collectivist form of particularism

When particularistic selections are justified to the population in

terms of the society's need for people with diffuse skills and certain ascribed characteristics in order that the society may be led by the most 'suitable' people one may refer to the 'paternalistic' quality of the ideology.

c. Meritocratic ideology: an individualistic form of universalism

When universalistic selections are justified to the population in terms of the right of the selected to privilege as a reward for their talents, ambition, and technical skills, one may refer to the 'meritocratic' quality of the ideology.

d. Communitistic ideology: a collectivist form of universalism

When universalistic selections are justified to the population in terms of the society's needs for the most talented, ambitious and technically qualified men to be guided to positions of leadership and responsibility, and for those less qualified in those respects to be guided to appropriately subordinate positions, one may refer to the 'communitistic' quality of the ideology."

Hopper finally classifies the American formal educational system as generally having a low degree of administrative centralisation and standardisation in its total selection process (as characterised by a "contest" ideology), a low degree of early formal differentiation and specialisation of routes (as characterised by an "egalitarian" ideology), and a "meritocratic" ideology of legitimisation of selection. The English system is defined as generally having a medium degree of centralisation and standardisation (as characterised more by a "sponsorship" ideology), a high degree of differentiation and specialisation (as characterised by an "elitist" ideology) and primarily a "paternalistic" ideology of legitimisation of selection.

The major differences between the two systems lie in the degree of early formal differentiation and specialisation of routes (and related ideologies) and the ideologies concerning the legitimisation of selection. Hopper qualifies his analysis of American education by

pointing out that the situation is far from static. For example there are signs of increasing centralisation in the administration of the total selection process, as locally based administration finds itself without funds and skills adequate enough for conducting programmes designed to discriminate in favour of those with disadvantaged family environments - a move considered necessary if the ideal of equal educational opportunity for all is to be a reality. He does not provide further analysis of the English situation, but, had he done so, his overall assessment would clearly require qualification as well. The rapid implementation of comprehensive secondary education in the 1970s and the declining significance of the selective grammar school must indicate some movement away from encouraging early formal differentiation and specialisation. The point can be reinforced by evidence of growing criticism of the General Certificate of Education public examinations and the rising demand for generalist curricula to replace specialist sixth form studies. There may also be some signs of a dilution of the "paternalistic" ideology concerning the legitimisation of selection at least as it applies to the secondary level of education. In addition to the introduction of "open" entry comprehensive secondary schools, sixth form colleges are predominantly pursuing liberal admission policies.

The essential point to note, however, is that these changes in emphases have become significant very recently. As noted by Elgayar, comprehensive schools were proposed by advocates of socio-educational equality immediately after World War II, but not widely implemented immediately because of "class-conditioned" attitudes to education. Using Hopper's terminology it is assumed that the various ideologies regarding selection have acted as a brake on the development of comprehensive education - particularly the "elitist" ideology of implementation and the "paternalistic" ideology of legitimisation of selection - both at the tertiary as well as secondary levels. Comprehensive SCIs, similar to American and Canadian community colleges, could not develop

until comprehensive secondary schools had become the predominant pattern. The assumption, if accepted, helps to explain the very late development of tertiary colleges for example.

Elgayar points to the divisiveness in English education caused by the continued existence of the private or "public" school system.<sup>7</sup> "Diffuse" and "ascribed" rather than "technical" skills are very much the order of the day. Sixth form colleges have attempted to diversify their curricula, but there are still signs of a non-technical bias operating particularly when compared with the curricula of tertiary colleges. Hutchinson has commented that English secondary-based community colleges place little emphasis on "work competence or social engagement".<sup>8</sup> It could be suggested at this point, that if the bias remains towards a "paternalistic" ideology with its down-grading of the importance of "technical" skills, the development of institutions promoting broadly based comprehensive curricula at the tertiary level will be limited.

The single most significant development that could counteract these factors is the wide-spread introduction and acceptance of comprehensive secondary education. If current trends continue, comprehensive secondary schools will virtually totally replace the selective grammar school in the near future and consequently will encourage the greater public acceptance of "egalitarian" and "meritocratic" ideologies that are integral to the comprehensive movement.

It is interesting to note that Hopper classified the Canadian educational system as generally having "a medium degree of centralisation and standardisation, a low degree of early formal differentiation and specialisation and primarily a "meritocratic" ideology of legitimisation of selection". As in the United States, comprehensive secondary schooling was the predominant pattern prior to the development of

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7. Elgayar. The Impact of Modern Democratic Thought in Education, pp.369-380.

8. Hutchinson. Participation in the Leicestershire Community Colleges, p.145.

community colleges with the major exception of French speaking Quebec. The Parent Report, in addition to paving the way for the CEGEPs, noted the under-developed nature of secondary education which was dominated by academically biased classical colleges. The Report recommended amongst other things that the province develop comprehensive secondary schools to extend over a period of five years.<sup>9</sup> By implication it can be seen that Parent realised the need for the development of comprehensive secondary education as a foundation for the CEGEP system. Perhaps it can be predicted that the strength of pressures to liberalise the admission policies of the CEGEP will be partly determined by the extent and acceptance of secondary comprehensive education.

Martin Trow in examining the development of higher education in the United States since the Second World War provides some further insights into the pre-conditions for developments of SCIs and therefore community colleges of the post-secondary type. He noted in 1970 in the U.S.A. that 2,500 colleges and universities were enrolling over 50% of high school graduates and that this figure was rising. In the case of California 80% of high school graduates were going on to some form of higher education and that, in that state the mass higher educational system could almost be classified as a universal higher education system - a system characterised by the belief that higher education is not only a right but a necessity and that those without it will be socially disadvantaged. Trow argues that American higher educational institutions have performed two sets of functions - autonomous and popular. The autonomous function involves first the transmission of high culture, the shaping of mind and character being a closely related concept and one which is central to the idea of liberal education; secondly the creation of new knowledge through "pure" scholarship and

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9. Watson, Cicely.. New College Systems in Canada, p.10.

basic scientific research; thirdly the selection and certification of the elite. Popular functions involve the commitment to provide places for as many students as can be encouraged to attend and secondly the provision of useful knowledge and service to nearly every group and institution that wants it. The demand for this "service" orientation is rising all the time.<sup>10</sup>

It can be argued that in England these functions of higher education have not been catered for by one system but by two - the universities promoting the autonomous functions and the further education sector culminating in the polytechnics promoting more of the popular functions. This division is far from being strict as the polytechnics have clearly developed functions which can be classified as autonomous. However, for simplicity, the practically oriented skilled manpower requirements of industry - more of a popular function - have tended to be provided by the further education sector. It can be argued that this division will be a barrier to the development of greater articulation within the higher educational system of England which in turn could hinder the development of more diversified educational provision. Trow has also pointed to the restraint on diversification caused by maintaining uniformly high quality first degrees in British universities,<sup>11</sup> and Furth to the thorny problem of inequalities of institutional status given the higher esteem ascribed to universities and reinforced by their clear separation from the further education sector.<sup>12</sup> The strong interest in the Oakes Committee and, by some members of the British Labour Party, in the creation of a national planning body to cover all higher educational institutions in England suggest that many consider these kinds of arguments valid. To the extent that this is true, England can be said to be moving from an elite to a mass higher educational

system and one that emphasises a "meritocratic" rather than a "paternalistic"

10. Trow, Martin. "Some Reflections on the Transition From Mass to Universal Higher Education". Daedalus, Winter 1970, pp.1-42.

11. Trow, Martin. "Binary dilemmas - An American View."

12. Furth. Short Cycle Higher Education, pp.38-40.

ideology of legitimisation of selection. America on the other hand is showing signs of moving from a mass system to a universal higher education system which may have a marked effect on the pattern of development of community colleges.

### The Nature and Development of North American Community College Concepts

#### The Junior College: The Prototype of the Public Comprehensive Community College

A summary of the characteristics of the junior colleges must take into account the fact that they were based initially on the secondary system. They have a bias towards the provision of academic transfer programmes combined with terminal technical programmes as a secondary function. They are viewed as community oriented in as much as they meet local "needs", practise open admission policies, are geographically accessible to a specified "community", and are regarded as a low cost alternative to direct entry to four-year colleges or universities. Community orientation is reinforced by local control. The representatives of the local community are appointed or elected onto junior college boards of trustees.

#### The Public Comprehensive Community College

The summary of the nature and development of the public comprehensive community college as opposed to the junior college is more complicated. The community college concept developed after World War II at the time the prototype institution - the junior college - was making strong moves to break away from the secondary system. The diversification of functions, begun before World War II, now accelerated and was accompanied by "an identity crisis".<sup>13</sup> The move for acceptance within the higher educational system by the American community colleges, and to a lesser extent the community colleges of British Columbia and

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13. Goodwin. A Social Panacea: A History of the Community-Junior College Ideology, p.191.

Alberta, was complicated by the inability initially of the colleges to establish their own identities. They lacked "parity of esteem" and tended to be "vassals" to the universities and four year colleges.<sup>14</sup> The community colleges of Ontario and Quebec which were created following the re-organisation of post-secondary education have suffered the same problem. The introduction of state master plans in many American states, and the development of provincial co-ordinative machinery throughout most of Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, led to the attempt to solve both the problems of the identity crisis and the question of parity of esteem by defining the role of community colleges within the framework of a master plan or a "systems" approach to planning and co-ordination. In the case of the United States, state master planning also formalised the acceptance of community colleges within the higher educational system. The most dramatic effect of both state master planning and "systems" planning was the rapid spread of community colleges throughout the North American continent.

The intervention of the states and the provinces in the development of community colleges paralleled the growing dependence of post-secondary educational systems throughout North America on state and federal funding. The 1960s onwards have seen a steady rise in costs which have been reflected in increasing student fees in many American community colleges, thereby negating one of the qualities deemed to be attractive to local communities. In those states of America and in British Columbia where local taxation is important to the funding of educational systems, including community colleges, the growing dependence on state and federal funding has sharpened the concern for the protection of local control. Local communities have also found they cannot afford great concentration of resources - the requirement for a multi-purpose institution. The trend has been for local school districts to co-operate more closely or to integrate to enable bigger

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14. Ashby. Any Person, Any Study.



regional establishments to be formed or to up-grade certain institutions strategically well placed. British Columbia illustrates this point well where the community of the community colleges tends now to be defined as the whole province or regions of the province rather than the immediate local community. Sometimes the process is re-inforced by policies promoting closer regional co-operation with the universities which are usually urban-based. Furth points out that as SCIs become more regional rather than local there is a need for another institution to fill the vacuum that is left. Alternatively political and social pressures and institutions resisting the loss of autonomy may discourage this trend.

The processes of concentration and broadening of the interpretation of communities has weakened the position of trustees. As Ashby and Campbell have pointed out they tend to be appointed rather than elected, particularly with the increasing involvement of state and provincial governments in post-secondary education, and at best to act as buffers between state authorities and local communities rather than defenders and interpreters of local community wishes. Their allegiance basically is to the wider state or provincial unit. The process of concentration has also led to a situation where one board has been set up for several campuses or for more than one college, particularly in urban areas. The inevitable co-ordination problems, and the removal of board or trustee members from the "field level" also seriously complicates individual institutions' or campuses' ability to relate to a local community.<sup>15</sup>

It should also be noted that more colleges are adopting the faculty models of the universities and consequently including more staff within the colleges' governmental machinery.<sup>16</sup>

As for the future, it would appear that American colleges within the confines of tight planning frameworks could begin to

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15. Grede. "The untried model of the urban community college" in New Directions for Community Colleges, 1973.

16. Gleazer. Project Focus, p.145.

specialise. Alberta in Canada is already attempting to promote comprehensiveness within the system rather than in the institution. However, Campbell believes that future trends for Canadian community colleges are to become more multi-purpose, and comprehensive rather than specialist. In fact he believes that the more specialist institutes of technology will inevitably become part of the community college system and therefore more comprehensive. It is difficult to explain why different trends are being noted but perhaps the answer lies in the greater urbanisation of the United States. If so it could be argued that as the Canadian provinces industrialise and become socially and economically more diverse, there will be a tendency to promote more institutional specialisation within planning or "systems" frameworks. Generally speaking the enrolment patterns of both countries show similar trends - a movement away from dependence on immediate high school graduates as the primary source of students. The implications for the development of the colleges of these changing enrolment patterns have yet to be fully evaluated, but are expected to be very marked. Certainly Gleazer and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges tend to expect a greater promotion of the community service function as a consequence.

Perhaps it can be predicted that given the acceptance of community colleges of North America as part of higher education, school models for administration will increasingly be replaced by faculty models. One other trend that will affect internal administration very seriously is the increasing unionisation of teaching staff in community colleges and the preference for collective bargaining processes to settle industrial disputes. Such processes will further decrease the power of trustees as industrial negotiations will tend to be conducted more by union representatives and state authorities. The agreements drawn up would then be legally binding on the trustees to observe.

#### CAATs and the CEGEPs

The CAATs and the CEGEPs are both outcomes of rapid change

following the reorganisation of post-secondary education at provincial level. The very speed with which they were introduced is a condition making for differences with most other community colleges in the North American continent.

The CAATs are an example of SCIs that have developed within a binary system of higher education. At the time of the introduction of the CAATs, there was spare enrolment capacity at the universities and therefore no pressure from such institutions for the CAATs to adopt a "cooling out" function. This situation shows signs of change and there is some evidence now that universities want the CAATs to adopt a buffer role between them and the growing numbers requesting access to higher education. The report "Towards 2000" amongst other things recommended that the CAATs offer first degree courses.<sup>17</sup> There is also growing pressure to avoid "dead ends" in technical and vocational programmes where it is argued that graduates have nowhere to go on completion of their studies at CAATs. Some seek credits with American universities although there is evidence of some students successfully transferring to Ontario's universities "with advance standing".<sup>18</sup>

Despite the absence of academic university transfer programmes the CAATs are viewed as offering high standard comprehensive programmes which are fairly "open" to the community at large. Their links are strongest with the industrial and business sectors of the community. The community representation on the Council of Regents and the Board of Governors outside of industry, commerce and education is not evident or at least not guaranteed.<sup>19</sup> This could change if the binary system ends and a greater diversification away from a strong vocational technical bias occurs.

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17. Towards 2000, The Future of Post-Secondary Education in Ontario, p.69.

18. See Campbell. "Special Report: Community Colleges in Canada", C.A.U.T. Bulletin, 1974, p.10.

19. Watson. New College Systems in Canada, p.21.

Unlike community colleges in America and parts of Canada, the CAATs show no evidence of concern for their "identity" - presumably their more specialist orientation avoids the situation - though there is evidence from the composition of their student bodies that they are viewed as "less noble" than universities.<sup>20</sup>

The CEGEPs, unlike the CAATs, have a multi-purpose function which includes academically oriented as well as technically and vocationally oriented programmes. However, unlike the community college pattern throughout most of America and western Canada the unitary post-secondary educational system of Quebec locks the CEGEPs firmly into a position of subordination in their relations with the universities. Originally it had been hoped that such a move would avoid the creation of inequalities of esteem between the CEGEPs and the universities by assigning a firm monopolistic role of educational programmes which are prerequisites for entrance into the universities. The effect has been the reverse - the imposition of university educational values to the detriment of the broader roles sought for the CEGEPs.

The CEGEPs have also been greatly concerned to reconcile the different ancestry systems which existed prior to the implementation of the Parent Report.<sup>21</sup> The existence of highly selective entrance policies combined with a high degree of centralist control and little autonomy can perhaps be explained in part by lack of any historic precedent or experience which could help the CEGEPs fulfil roles considered radical within the Quebec educational scene.

The CEGEPs, like all community colleges in North America, are witnessing changing enrolment patterns, particularly an increase in the enrolment of women and minority groups in proportion to high school graduates - the traditional main source of students. Such pressures may well encourage the liberalisation of admission policies.

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20. Anisef. The Critical Juncture, Educational and Vocational Intentions of Grade 12 Students in Ontario, cited by Campbell in Some Comments on Reports of Post-Secondary Commissions, 1978, p.64.

21. Watson. op.cit. p.12.

Presumably the pace of industrialisation and growing social complexity in Quebec will also lead to demands for more flexible post-secondary educational provision. These broad factors contributed to tensions in the late 1960s within the CEGEPs which culminated in a student strike. Events such as this may well lead to greater institutional autonomy for the CEGEPs.

To conclude, it may be true to say that both the CAATs and the CEGEPs are in a state of transition to more flexible systems permitting greater institutional autonomy. In which case they would probably tend to experience developmental patterns similar to the American and West Canadian colleges.

#### Saskatchewan Community Colleges

Given its very recent emergence, discussion on the developmental pattern of the Saskatchewan community college system must be very speculative. The objectives of the colleges are the same as for the comprehensive North American community colleges, but the philosophy underlying the methods for disseminating educational provision is very different. The emphasis is on highly organised deployment of resources of existing educational institutions, the provincial library network and the telecommunications system. There is also an emphasis on contracts between students and teachers with the main determinant being students' wishes as regards content and evaluation of courses. The college in this situation is essentially an intermediary between the community and other established educational institutions. It also re-interprets the idea of college accessibility to the community, not in terms of students commuting but of the college's physical and human resources moving out to the student.

It remains to be seen how this system develops. Bureaucratic and central administrative pressures may push the Saskatchewan community college into a traditional campus-based mould. The

Department of Continuing Education, for example, could become concerned that there should be tighter co-ordination and controls on the colleges thereby restricting their autonomy, particularly if their services are thought to be unfairly promoted amongst certain social groups or unequally distributed geographically. The universities and technological institutes might attempt to influence the colleges to become more traditional in their orientation by adopting a "cooling out" approach in their dealings with less academically able students. There is also the potential problem of the "community" requesting traditional programmes only, and by their very conservatism, not encouraging the community colleges to promote more diversified curricula. It may be only the "delivery system" of the Saskatchewan colleges that will finally be viewed as innovative.

### The Nature and Development of English Community College Concepts

#### Village and Community Colleges

The English village colleges of Cambridgeshire and the community colleges of Leicestershire and elsewhere can be classed as multi-purpose institutions though the range of their functions is less than in the American and Canadian comprehensive community colleges.

They have little involvement in technical and vocationally oriented programmes and no academic higher educational programmes other than academic matriculation programmes for entry into university.

Henry Morris, the creative force behind the development of village colleges and a major inspiration behind the development of community colleges in England, encouraged the idea of corporate government - the bringing together of different educational and social services in managing one institution. He assumed that such an institution should be under the control of an educationist, the principal. In the case of Cambridgeshire he believed that such an institution would help revitalise life in rural areas. Corporate government would help to form a "rural democracy" which combined with the co-ordination of services implied in corporate

government policy, would amount to functions close to the community service function as understood in North America. The thrust of Morris' ideas carried strong implications of local control or at least involvement in the management of a village college. Morris was also in favour of lifelong education and the breakdown of the divisions between academic and vocational/technical education. His ideas implied that the curriculum of a village college should be comprehensive and in practice he went as far as he could in combining further education elements - particularly as regards agricultural education - with school education. In this respect his ideas were very close to some of the concepts underlining North American community colleges. However, he was 30 to 40 years ahead of his time for two reasons. First the existence of selective grammar schools separate from the village colleges reduced the extent to which the latter could become comprehensive in its provision. Secondly the demand for greater access to higher and further education did not become significant until the late 1960s - approximately the same time that comprehensive schooling became the dominant pattern in the secondary sector.

In practice Morris' ideas became watered down to little more than the "community school" idea involving the sharing of school resources with the community, particularly for recreation and leisure purposes. Ideas for local control became limited to management of adult education programmes through users associations. The Taylor Report has not been implemented and the ECA Survey of Student Representation concluded that student involvement in the management and government of institutions conducting adult education programmes stopped short of executive power.

Morris' ideas influenced Leicestershire and other local educational authorities whose secondary schools were bigger and better able than the Cambridgeshire village colleges to adapt to community education requirements in the 1960s, as well as introduce compre-

hensive secondary educational provision. However, in all cases vocational and technically oriented programmes particularly for adults are not involved.

While North American colleges, through their emphasis on academic transfer programmes, tend to be influenced by the educational values of universities and four year colleges, English community colleges are inevitably biased towards educational values associated with the performance of secondary school functions. Essentially these values must give priority to children's educational needs, so much so that it could be argued that the dynamism of English community colleges lies not so much in imaginative use of facilities for developing adult-oriented recreational programmes as in bringing aspects of the adult community into the school for the benefit of the children. Linden West has suggested that adults have needs which must be satisfied independently of children. The idea that the needs of both can be met by the one institution is dismissed. In practice, the Cambridgeshire village colleges and Leicestershire community colleges have compromised to some extent by adding youth and adult wings and, in so doing, implying that adults and youth have priority of access in those areas. However, when adults wish to share in the mainstream of secondary education in community colleges by joining full-time the public examination classes for example - a child oriented section of community colleges - there is evidence of disquiet on the part of teachers' associations. It would also appear that principals and community education tutors can be in conflict. The former see their primary duty as the provision and supervision of statutory required services for children, with adult education and youth services regarded as acceptable provided they do not conflict with this primary duty.<sup>22</sup>

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22. See - Williams, Graham. "Managing community education: a Leicestershire case study", Adult Education, 50, 6, March 1978, pp.370-375.



It should be noted at this point that adult education as a term has different meanings in the English and American context. In California for example it includes re-training and some programmes for which credit towards higher educational qualifications are possible.<sup>23</sup> In England it is limited to non-credit programmes only. This more precise understanding of the term adult education, combined with the narrower range of functions compared with the North American post-secondary community colleges, has tended to mean that English community colleges have not suffered from "identity crises". "Community orientation" in England means more the opening up of educational facilities for public use and the provision of leisure-oriented programmes. In North America it refers to a broader range of educational provision combined with liberal admissions policies, community use of facilities, and leisure oriented programmes.

Morris' ideas for revitalising the "community" is perhaps more appropriate for rural areas or small socially close-knit towns such as Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire rather than urban areas devoid of "community spirit". The latter situation tends to encourage community colleges to talk in terms of creating a sense of "community" within, rather than improving the quality of "community" outside the college.<sup>24</sup> On a more speculative note, Morris assumed that the leadership of institutions uniting several educational and social agencies should be in the hands of educationists. Examples from the United States and Scandinavia where projects on the ambitious lines of the Abraham Moss Centre are placed under the control of a director who in turn supervises principals of schools suggests this may not always be so.<sup>25</sup>

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23. See - A Master Plan for Higher Education in California, 1960-1975  
pp.130-144.

24. Hutchinson. Participation in Leicestershire Community Colleges,  
p.144.

25. Passantino, Richard J. "Community/School Facilities: The School house of the Future" in Phi Delta Kappan, Jan.1975, pp.306-309, cited in The School and the Community, In-Service Education, Education Department, Tasmania 1975.

### Joint Use and Urban Community Education Projects

As in the cases of village colleges and community colleges, joint use projects involve in part the combining of leisure and recreational functions with secondary school functions. The essential difference between joint use projects and the other two types of colleges is that the former emphasizes co-operation between schools and rural or urban district councils in the joint use of facilities, whereas the latter, particularly the village college, are concerned with integration within multipurpose institutions of services conducted by such agencies. The former is less ambitious conceptually, as initially they tend to have the more limited objective of providing facilities for specific purposes. In essence they involve imaginative sharing of limited resources mainly to avoid or limit the duplication of expensive recreational facilities.

Urban community education projects are perhaps closer in spirit to the ideas of Morris than even the Cambridgeshire village colleges. The Abraham Moss Centre for example has been designed to improve the quality of life in a specific "community" - a disadvantaged inner-city area. The heart of this centre is its educational facilities which have the advantage over the Cambridgeshire village colleges of being planned at a time when comprehensive secondary education has become the norm, and there is evidence of increasing co-operation between the schools and further educational sectors. One striking innovation is the idea of encouraging adult members of the community as well as school and further education full-time students to attend classes in "minority" subjects, both vocational and academic, to be held in the evenings.

The development of flexible and fairly comprehensive curricular through co-operation between school and the college of further education, and the extensive range of leisure and recreational facilities, suggests that the whole centre could develop some parallels with American

community colleges committed to the promotion of the "community service" function within urban areas. Certainly in terms of overall objectives, both are committed to "revitalising" community life. One possible problem for the Centre is that the formal educational institutions within it may interpret their roles in relation to adult community in very narrow terms given the extremely broad range of recreational and leisure services offered independently of them. The co-ordinating and leadership aspects of "community service" may not be seen as a possible function of the college of further education for example. It has already been noted that adults will be encouraged to enrol in "minority" subjects offered to full-time students in the 16-19 age group. It remains to be seen if there would be any vacancies for adults if enrolments from 16-19 age group ever became very heavy, or if indeed the time would come when the courses could be offered to adults alone. The suspicion is that the bias is still not towards adult needs except in the provision of leisure and general recreational facilities.

#### English Tertiary Colleges

Tertiary colleges show more scope for developing adult-oriented curriculum combining academic, vocational and technical programmes with non-credit adult education programmes. The combination of further educational provision and sixth form curriculum may help to break down barriers inhibiting greater articulation between academic and technically oriented programmes, thereby encouraging the development of a comprehensive curriculum with a wide range of options. The possibility of this occurring is strengthened by the fact that most of the students aged 16 to 19, who are entering tertiary and technical colleges in increasing numbers, come from comprehensive schools which are attempting to break down such barriers at the secondary level. Open admission policies combined with very broad curricula offered part-time as well as full-time should also prove attractive to "mature"

students as well as those from the 16-19 age group, thereby encouraging the development of a more heterogeneous student body than exists in sixth form colleges for example. English tertiary colleges are partly the outcome of pressures to rationalise scarce and expensive resources, the influence of the comprehensive educational movement and the need for developing institutions for the 16-19 age group which provide a greater "adult" atmosphere.

They have problems reconciling sixth form and technical college traditions. However, given the absence of any attempt so far by England to introduce at speed a national re-organisation of educational provision at this level, the tensions generated by such reconciliation are probably less than in the case of the CECPEs which, amongst other things, have had to attempt very quick reconciliation of traditions from the classical college and technical college "ancestry" systems following the radical and comprehensive re-organisation of post-secondary education in Quebec.

Tertiary Colleges may also suffer from the strong centralist biases of the further education sector which could weaken their ability to maintain a local orientation and respond effectively to local requirements.

As for possible developmental trends much will depend on whether or not the binary system in English higher education persists. If it does, articulation and diversification of provision may be limited only to those institutions within the further education sector probably in close co-operation with the Open University. It could also happen that, if centralist tendencies within a separate further education sector weaken, the tertiary colleges may be tempted to promote themselves to higher status institutions. In this situation, the dropping of "lower level" programmes such as non-credit adult education could be predicted. However, this trend is unlikely given the current interest amongst the main political parties in at least increasing co-ordination within the

further education sector, if not within higher education generally.

Another possibility is that the polytechnics could diversify their programs even further than they have done so far and become less selective. They already have a teaching bias, a reputation for educational innovation and varied forms of provision (full-time and part-time). If further diversification occurred they might develop "multiversity" roles, perhaps with "autonomous" and "popular" functions along the lines of the bigger American state universities. In this situation the scope for the tertiary college also to continue diversifying may be more limited. This too is unlikely given the preference of polytechnics to emulate to some extent the traditional university model and therefore to develop "autonomous" functions, perhaps leaving "popular" higher educational functions to agencies such as the Open University to develop.

If the binary system ends and mature adult enrolments continue to rise as predicted under the fifth option - Model E - of the DES paper "Higher Education into the 1990s", there would inevitably be greater pressure to increase articulation within higher education generally. Should this situation develop in a higher educational context without effective national or regional co-ordinative machinery, the tertiary colleges would be unfettered and may well be tempted to promote themselves as described before. Involvement in effect with university oriented programmes will rise to keep pace with the growing numbers of 16-19 year olds taking advanced level G.C.E. programmes full-time in technical and tertiary colleges. Successful completion of these examinations amount to admission qualifications for the university sector as well as the upper levels of the further education sector - polytechnics and the institutes of higher education. Alternatively, if these developments are accompanied by the introduction of national or regional co-ordinative machinery for the whole of higher education, there could be some amalgamation of polytechnics and universities creating "multiversities". These institutions are unlikely to want to move "downwards" in their educational

provisions and, in time, could be concerned with the problem of reconciling autonomous functions inherited from the university sector with popular functions inherited from the further education sector. This situation could be exacerbated by movement from mass to universal higher education, as outlined by Trow, in which access to higher education begins to be thought of less as a privilege and more as a right, the exercise of which is considered socially mandatory (i.e. the sanction for failing to exercise this right is social stigma).

In this situation, which Trow believes California is rapidly moving towards, a rising number of poorly motivated students will enter higher educational universities without accepting the characteristics and purpose of the institutions as defined by the "authorities". Inevitably the "autonomous" set of functions of the multiversity would come under increasing attack particularly as the expansion of "popular functions" can lead institutions into an involvement in controversial areas. In fact Trow uses this thesis to explain the politicisation of some of the campuses of the bigger American state universities. Community colleges will be under pressure from the multiversities to help protect their "autonomous" functions by taking on a greater share of their "popular" functions.<sup>26</sup> The same situation placed in an English higher educational context, in which the binary system has ended, might mean that institutions such as tertiary colleges may be encouraged to diversify popular functions to protect the "autonomous" functions of the new university, or "multiversity" system, which were inherited from the private university ancestry system.

#### A Comment on English Sixth Form Colleges

English sixth form colleges are characterised increasingly by open admission policies, a broadening of their curriculum and a less cumbersome pattern of control than technical and tertiary colleges.

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26. Trow. Some Reflections on the Transition from Mass to Universal Higher Education.

However they are less likely to diversify as much as tertiary colleges except through close co-operation with the further education sector. The need for close co-operation with another sector to encourage a broader range of options for study must encourage more integration of sixth form units and colleges with technical colleges to form tertiary colleges.

Six form colleges exhibit other barriers to greater diversification. Their pastoral traditions are praised but essentially child-oriented. They may not be suited to the situation in the future when mature adult enrolments could be more significant. Already it has been noted that the 16-19 age group are increasingly "voting with their feet",<sup>27</sup> and enrolling in technical colleges rather than sixth form colleges. They have conservative traditions which inhibit the development of part-time studies, for example, but their biggest drawback is a tradition of academic excellence in which vocational and technical training is not a component part. This situation is reinforced by the "stranglehold" of the universities on curriculum development. Until the G.C.E. public examination system is reformed to permit the development of more generalist curricula, the specialist academic orientation of sixth form colleges will tend to prevail. It may be very significant to note that the first major breakthrough of the "A level barrier" has been successfully performed by a tertiary college - Nelson and Colne College - not a sixth form college.

#### A Comment on Technical Colleges and Institutes of Higher Education

Hicks has pointed out that many technical colleges are bedevilled by "rigidity and out-datedness in teaching methods, gloomy and unattractive physical surroundings and a degree of rigidity in rules characteristic more of the Poor Law than the educational institution". Technical colleges tend also to be limited in the diversification of their provision by the tradition that students are directed

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27. "Keeping the barons and the innovators happy", T.E.S.16-Plus Inquiry, 21.6.74, p.19.

to college by employers, and that the major concern of the college is with vocational courses. Educational provision beyond that point does occur, but it tends to be the result of initiatives by individuals and departments often in isolated sections of the colleges. Rarely is there an overall commitment by college staff to meet broader community needs.<sup>28</sup> Tertiary colleges on the other hand have a chance to break new ground by moving away from one of their ancestry systems - the technical college - and so fulfilling one of the conditions laid down by Furth for encouraging innovation, namely the development of new institutions with no firm traditions.

The institutes of higher education have either been amalgamated with universities or have concentrated on teacher education only. There seems little chance of diversification occurring even though they fall within the further education sector and could in theory have developed more diversified provision. Hicks expects that one of the reasons that this has not occurred is the continuing uncertainty and debate on the future of some of the colleges and institutes of higher education. This uncertainty he believes might frustrate or impede the co-operative development of new courses.<sup>29</sup>

#### Most Common Preconditions for Development of Comprehensive Adult-Oriented Community Colleges

1. Universal comprehensive secondary education which in Hopper's terms is characterised by a low degree of early formal differentiation and specialisation of routes and a "meritocratic" ideology of legitimisation of selection. According to Hopper there are two special aspects to be noted: "the degree to which an educational system is formally differentiated into specialised routes through which children are

28. Hicks. "Open Education", The Technical Journal, May - June 1974.

29. Hicks. "Colleges in Transition", Avon Education Journal, September 1975.



selected, trained and guided to their future occupational roles; and to the degree to which initial selection occurs early in the educational career."<sup>30</sup> Initial selection and specialisation occurs later in "educational career" of a young American compared with a young Englishman. The former may not have to make a serious decision regarding alternative specialised programmes until commencing an under-graduate degree. Even then the first two years of such courses tend to be of a generalist nature. The English student has been making decisions of this gravity at least when commencing a programme of studies leading to the G.C.E. 'A' level at the age of 16 or 17, if not earlier. The longer the need for such decision making is deferred, the greater the chance of developing comprehensive curricula with generalist biases.

2. Strong demand for greater and more varied forms of access to post-compulsory education. This demand is associated with a wide acceptance that there should be equality of opportunity for all in higher education, or in other words that there should be a movement from elite to mass and subsequently universal higher education provision.
3. A need for the development of technical and vocational programmes other than at the "professional" level, to meet skilled manpower requirements of local industry.
4. A concern for making education more "relevant" to the "needs" of a "community".
5. Acceptance of education as a continuing life-long process in which divisions between "academic" and "technical/vocational" education are considered to be largely irrelevant.

The CAATs of Ontario and CEGEPs of Quebec were the direct outcome of reorganisation and planning. Also many North American community colleges were the direct outcome of attempts to plan higher education. For these reasons another pre-condition will be included even though there are numerous examples of community colleges that developed in a

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30. Hopper. "Educational Systems", Sociology, 1968, p.32.

less controlled context.

6. The acceptance of the need to view post-secondary education as an integrated concept which has to be co-ordinated and planned.

Common Characteristics of Community Colleges.

1. Multiple educational functions particularly in the North American Colleges.
2. Local or regional orientation in which the "community" whose "needs" are to be met is defined in terms of commuting distance which students have to travel to go "into" the college, or in terms of the accessibility of the students to the college staff who have to go "out" of the college.
3. Heterogeneous student populations i.e. student populations composed of broad age ranges, varied socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, varied educational aspirations.
4. "Consumer" orientation, involving the meeting of "needs" as, when, and where they arise, rather than "service" orientation involving the meeting of national manpower requirements for example.
5. Encouraging broad community as opposed to mainly business or industrial involvement in college governments or in their internal management. This is achieved largely through the election or appointment of "community" representatives on governing boards, or student delegates on committees responsible for management of components of college programmes(e.g. users associations).
6. Some degree of commitment to liberal admission policies.
7. Innovation in creating curricula appropriate to mass higher educational systems, or in ways to promote community education.
8. Emphasis on teaching rather than educational research.

## CHAPTER 18

DEVELOPMENTAL PATTERNS: COMMUNITY COLLEGE ISSUESDiversification Leading to an "Identity Crisis".

Community colleges, particularly in the higher educational sectors, have a pre-disposition to diversify their offerings. This may be partially the influence of comprehensive educational policies which encourage the development of broadly based generalist curricula and a consumer orientation towards education provision. The tendency is that with functional increments beyond the one or two main ones associated with the college at its inception or in its early days of development, a college's public policy pronouncements tends to become less specific and more "philosophical" and the public becomes more confused or, more likely, associates the college with its original functions only. For example, the American community colleges and probably the British Columbian colleges tend to be associated with academic transfer and to a lesser extent terminal vocational/technical programmes despite, in some cases, strong rhetoric about community service functions and other non-academic functions. The English community colleges on the other hand are less of a problem in this respect, given their narrower range of functions. However, it may be worth speculating that the new wave of community colleges in Leicestershire, the prime example being Countesthorpe College, may have some difficulties explaining their "integrated" policies. In Countesthorpe College there has been a conscious effort to avoid making obvious physical divisions of college areas allocated solely for school children on the one hand and adults and youth on the other. It may be that the community served by Countesthorpe would view the college as a secondary school even more than in the case of a traditional village college where there are clear cut physical areas set aside for adult and youth programmes. It may

also be worth speculating that internal tensions between secondary school teachers and staff involved in adult education and youth services could increase in such a situation as an integrated policy implies that all three services are now more equal.

A possible solution to the identity crisis for post-secondary community colleges lies in the development of specialist institutions within a "federated" or highly articulated system. Comprehensiveness of provision would lie within the system as a whole rather than in any one institution. The system would have to be carefully monitored or controlled to prevent serious institutional overlap, and to ensure maximum student freedom to choose programmes offered by different institutions which would count in combination towards a qualification certified by an over-viewing agency. This possible solution, though encouraging institutional specialisation and therefore a more clearly defined public identity, could accentuate other difficulties, notably the probable loss of local influence on institutions given centralist tendencies in the monitoring or controlling body.

#### Parity of Esteem

In their relationship with other higher institutions, the American and Canadian community colleges tend to be viewed as "less noble". Alternatives to university oriented programmes can be difficult to promote, given the student preferences for programmes permitting transfer to the more "noble" universities or four-year colleges and the conditions laid down by these institutions for accepting transfer students. Diversification of provision by community colleges is often hindered until relationships with four-year colleges and universities are carefully defined and controlled as part of a broad state or provincial policy to co-ordinate and plan the development of higher education. Once this occurs the universities are obliged to accept student transfers without the usual consequential conditions amounting to direction of curriculum, library facilities, and teaching staff qualifications.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Gleazer. Project Focus p.57.

The problem of student preference for academic rather than terminal technical courses is more difficult to tackle but there have been signs that the value of universities and university oriented programmes are being viewed as less important.<sup>2</sup>

In the English community colleges, adult education and youth functions are essentially subordinate to secondary schooling in terms of access to facilities and general administrative priorities. The question of parity of esteem as understood in the North American context and in the relations between polytechnics and the universities in England does not arise. The problem is more a matter of making adult education and youth functions equal in status to schooling. In this respect the problem of parity of esteem occurs within the institution not between institutions.

It may be worth speculating as a rider that in the case of the American and Canadian colleges the promotion of the community service function is occurring for two reasons - to solve the public identity crisis by reducing all functions to one over-riding service which, it is hoped, will enable the colleges to more easily explain their objectives and policies to the public, and secondly, to try to draw away from the university-dominated values of the higher educational systems into which they were "born" or "adopted". The development of the community service function would help to demote the significance of academic transfer programmes and reduce the influence of the universities which is exerted through these programmes, thereby giving the colleges the chance to create an alternative status for themselves.

#### Definition of "Local" and "Community"

The relationship between a community college and its "community" is rarely spelt out and tends to be very vaguely understood.<sup>3</sup> The relationship tends to carry implications of the college being geographically

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2. "First year enrolments fall", T.H.E.S., 16.12.77., p.5.

3. See for example Campbell, Community Colleges in Canada, pp.66-67.

accessible to all people within a physically defined area or region, and to be more concerned with the specific "needs" of that area or region rather than the more diffuse "needs" of a nation as in the case perhaps of a university. Further, English community colleges define "needs" narrowly in terms of leisure or non-credit cultural programmes, whereas the North American colleges interpret "needs" in far broader terms to include the whole gamut of academic and technical credit oriented programmes, in addition to adult education and leisure oriented non-credit programmes. There is rarely any attempt to seriously define the differences in the relationship between community colleges and relatively homogeneous rural communities on the one hand and relatively heterogeneous urban communities on the other. Hutchinson in his study of Leicestershire community colleges suggests consideration must be given to the differences between the community of and the community within the community college.

The concentration of resources noted by Furth and rising costs have tended to complicate the situation by giving some community colleges a less local orientation. Furth has argued that in this situation there is a need for a new locally oriented institution along the lines of the junior colleges in America that have not undergone this process.

The Saskatchewan community college system suggests the relationship between a college and a "community" can be re-defined, particularly the concept of geographic accessibility. The college, in itself a new concept involving no campus orientation, can go "out" to the student. The commuting distance between the student and the college is less relevant. The extent of regular contact through the extensive use of communications media is more important now though it raises the possible difficulties caused by a less personal service. The change in the nature of student/teacher relationship also has an effect on the relationship between "community" and the college. The student has more power to decide when, where and what he or she wants to study. The college has more of a guidance rather than a dictatorial role, at least in theory. The "community"

therefore controls more aspects of college programming than in the relationship between "communities" and the traditional campus-based colleges.

#### Local Versus Central Control.

If the degree of local control becomes excessively strong, the problem of parochialism arises. Prior to the introduction of co-ordinative machinery, Lethbridge Community College in Alberta and some of the Texan community colleges, as a result of strong local pressures, pursued a policy of trying to raise their institutional status at the expense of the diversification of programmes. Although Hodgkinson was not able to detect many examples of successful upward mobility culminating in a promotion to four-year college or even university status, the situation that occurred in Texas was not checked until state authorities intervened. In the case of Lethbridge, the movement towards "systems" planning did not become significant until it was too late. Local interests may be more concerned with raising the general status of a community by acquiring a university which is geared to meet diffuse national "needs" than a comprehensive community college geared to meet specific local "needs".

Appointed rather than elected trustees often owe their position to political patronage. When this occurs, sectional rather than broader community interest tends to be promoted. Such appointments can be used by state governors in the United States to ensure trustees are more receptive to the wishes of central authorities than to local communities. The tendency for this practice to occur is re-inforced by the growing significance of funding from state and federal governments rather than from local taxation sources.

The movement towards integrated systems of higher education or state comprehensive planning also encourages centralist tendencies. The problem remains how to permit considerable institutional autonomy and at the same time to reduce duplication and prevent upward institutional mobility. The English further education sector presents a

classic situation where polytechnics are attempting to free themselves from as many controls as possible by acquiring corporate status. It can be argued that they are basically chasing the same status as enjoyed by the universities. The Oakes Committee on the other hand is concerned to promote greater national co-ordination which, by implication, involves the promotion of a central authority at the expense of the local education authorities and perhaps some of the autonomy enjoyed by the universities and pursued by the polytechnics.

Capital intensive and highly expensive technological programmes tend to be beyond the financial resources of local authorities. These programmes are concerned with national manpower requirements and invariably require funding from a national source. The temptation to accept such funding, which Campbell believes was a major factor in determining the strongly technological and vocational orientation of the CAATs of Ontario, threatens the local and "consumer" orientations of community colleges in America and Canada. This temptation could be particularly strong in periods of reduced growth rates in student enrolments, as the development of technological programmes to meet national manpower requirements tends to be less concerned with student numbers than those programmes funded out of local taxation and designed to meet local needs.

In North America the growing preference for collective bargaining processes for settling industrial disputes could weaken the power of trustees. Salary decisions plus conditions of work, and indirectly educational programming, are increasingly being determined by arbitration courts which lie outside the control of the college and local community.

#### The "Cooling Out" Function

In the United States and Canada there is a need to match student aspirations (strongly encouraged by a "contest" philosophy) against realistic possibilities. However, many colleges cannot publicly



declare that they must deflect some students away from academic transfer programmes for example, given the widely held belief in equality of educational opportunity for all. The movement from mass to nearly universal higher education will sharpen the problem ever further. The issue will be how to satisfy those who feel socially obliged to attend a higher educational institution despite their lack of motivation and perhaps their incapacity to successfully complete higher educational programmes. Community colleges will inevitably be in the front line facing the sharp tensions and problems generated by such developments. The promotion of recurrent or continuing education philosophies, however, may help to soften the impact of some students having to "drop out". Instead of thinking of themselves as failures, students will be able to rationalise the situation by claiming that they have deferred their studies.

The English higher educational system has not reached this point yet. The movement is largely from an elite to a mass higher educational system, with initial emphasis on greater access to higher education for the 16-19 age group. There is also an assumption increasingly being made that mature adult enrolment will increase in later years (note the interest in model E). As for the present, it could be speculated that the Open University has a "cooling out" function in protecting the traditional universities from the implications of the movement towards a mass higher educational system.

## CHAPTER 19

### TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES

#### Introduction

Comparison of English community colleges on the one hand with American and Canadian colleges on the other is limited given the former's secondary school orientation and the latter group's higher or post-secondary educational orientation. It is further complicated by the tremendous range of differences in institutional structure, size, administration, government, methods of financing, and educational programming within and between Canadian and American community colleges, and by the very fluid post-compulsory school situation in England with its potential for the development of comprehensive educational institutions in the further and higher educational sectors, beginning with the recent emergence of tertiary colleges.

However, a limited typology for the classification of community colleges based on extrapolation of some of the more broad but significant common dimensions in all three countries is possible. It is hoped that such a typology would not only help to marshal some of the mass of detail, thereby aiding description and analysis, but might also help to suggest more clearly areas for further research based on a few tentative hypotheses.

The title "community college" helps to focus attention on one common dilemma-where should emphasis lie, the "community" or the "college"? The title, in theory at least, suggests that part of the rationale for the institution's existence is a special broad relationship with a "community", a relationship that must or should be closer and more clearly defined than for other educational institutions which do not have the qualifying word "community" in their titles. Failure

to meet the immediate and locally oriented "needs" of the "community", would theoretically destroy that rationale for existence. Taken to the extreme, the community college should be an institution totally at the disposal and control of the "community". Saskatchewan and the Kansas Metropolitan Junior College District have introduced colleges with some degree of bias in this direction. However, community colleges do not operate in isolation from other secondary and higher educational institutions and their values systems. The greater the influence of these institutions, particularly on the nature and priorities of educational provisions, the less likely the community college can maintain its special "community" relationship. Control of the community college would tend to be taken away from the "community". Taken to the other extreme, the community college would be totally dominated by values not directly concerned with the local and immediate needs of a "community". In a sense the emphasis in this situation falls totally on the word "college", which has connotations of academically oriented educationists whose values are those of the traditional university - the shaping of mind and character through the transmission of high culture and the creation of new knowledge through "pure" scholarship and basic scientific research.<sup>1</sup> The CEGEPs of Quebec, though changing, can be said to exhibit tendencies in this direction. The "community"- "college" dichotomy can be viewed also in terms of the struggle of some community colleges to modify, if not escape, the dominant values of the educational systems that gave them "birth" or "adopted" them - the secondary school sector in England and predominantly the university-oriented higher educational sector in the United States and Canada. Greater sensitivity and involvement in the "community" necessitates greater effort to reduce such influences. The opposite situation involves a greater acceptance and promotion of such values irrespective of whether they obstruct the broader role of meeting the local "community needs".

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1. Trow. Some Reflections on the Transition from Mass to Universal Higher Education, Daedalus, 1970.

A dynamic process can be seen underlying the conflict between being "community" or "college" oriented. Community colleges are pre-disposed to ~~exhibiting~~ some degree of tension in reconciling these two sets of potentially conflicting pressures, nor, in a given situation which tends to heighten such tensions, will the community colleges respond similarly. For example, in a situation of declining or static enrolments post-secondary community colleges could become more "community" oriented by undertaking new functions not traditionally associated with formal higher education, such as community service, or seek salvation by mounting nationally funded sophisticated technological programmes which could be irrelevant to the local "community", or accept the enrolment situation but cut costs by concentrating on academic transfer courses which tend to be less expensive to run than terminal technical courses, thereby increasing the "college" orientation.

To examine this process in greater depth, a continuum will be developed which has at one extreme a community college totally characterised by "inner-directed" values ("college" domination) and at the other a community college characterised by "outer-directed" values ("community" domination).

Community colleges also exhibit a great degree of variation in approaches to the deployment of their resource both physical and human, from an emphasis on all or most of these resources being concentrated on one campus, or a limited number of campuses, to an approach, backed by modern communication and educational technology, which permits deployment to be far more diffused throughout a specified "community" without the need for any campus or campuses directly associated with the community college. Saskatchewan colleges, for example, are not based on any specific buildings.

The "concentrated - diffused" continuum can be used in defining differences in the deployment of resources that exist in other institutions as well as in community colleges. The Open University of

England is an example of an institution that has a diffused approach, as opposed to the concentration of resources in all the other typically campus-based English universities. However, the assumption will be made that community colleges occupy a broader range of this continuum than other educational institutions at the upper secondary and, in particular, the post-secondary levels.

#### Characteristics of the Two Continua -

These two continua will now be examined in more detail and will be used for drawing up a typology of community colleges.

##### (i) Inner-Directed Values

The reference point here is the traditional university with its autonomous functions. Curriculum planning and evaluation is determined by university preferences and values. The emphasis is on depth, specialisation, theory rather than practice and the pursuit of excellence through scholarly studies. There is no necessary concern for the relevance for what is taught to "the community". Student needs are defined primarily in terms of the development of the cognitive domain rather than the affective and social domains. Comprehensiveness of provision is defined in terms of two functions only, academic programmes aimed at qualifying students for initial entrance into or transfer to undergraduate courses at universities (and four-year colleges in the case of the United States), and, to a lesser extent, vocational/technical programmes designed to meet manpower requirements of industry. Colleges with such values would be "production orientated" as they would be concerned to ensure that their graduates - "their products" - are acceptable, particularly in terms of intellectual abilities and standard of skills to other universities and higher educational institutions of equivalent standing as well as to industry.

Formal liberal admission policies are negated by the vigorous informal (and hidden) promotion of "cooling out" policies, i.e. the use of sophisticated counselling, guidance and testing techniques to dis-

courage intellectually weaker students from attempting "inappropriate" courses (particularly academic transfer courses) and inevitably to encourage such students to "drop out". This policy cannot be publicly announced given the wide-spread acceptance of the ideal of equality of opportunity for higher as well as secondary education. Inner-directed colleges would tend to accept equality of opportunity for all as a desirable educational objective but would tend to interpret the means for achieving this objective in terms of reducing "barriers" to coming into the college. The interpretation of "barriers" may well be very broad including social, financial, psychological, geographical, racial, sexual as well as educational factors. The essential point is that the "barriers" are impediments to students coming "in".

The preferred student population for the colleges would be graduates straight from high school, in the case of the United States or Canada, or school leavers in the 16-19 age group, in the case of the United Kingdom.

Community "needs" are interpreted in terms of improving the quality of life through the provision of academically-oriented educational and cultural services. The "community" appellation is interpreted in terms of the involvement of teaching staff and students as well as the administration in the decision making processes of the college. The connotations are on the "community of scholars" or the "community within" rather than the "community" of the college.

#### (ii) Outer-directed Values

The reference point is the "community" and the students in that "community". The emphasis is on "performance-oriented" curricula which are evaluated in instrumental terms - do they meet the "needs" and "wants" as expressed by the learner. The individual "needs" of students are paramount and are considered in terms of the development of affective as well as cognitive domains. The concern for meeting individual and "community" needs makes for a "consumer" rather than a "production" orientation.

Comprehensiveness of educational provision is defined in terms of extremely varied and broad education programmes of a "community service" nature in addition to academic programmes for entrance or transfer to university, and technical/vocational programmes that may be demanded by the "community". There is also a willingness to contract the services of other institutions particularly for academic and vocational/technical programmes, rather than organise the services directly.

Open admission policies are bolstered by counselling, guidance and testing techniques designed to help the students determine "needs" more accurately. They are not used for "cooling out" purposes.

There is no particular preference as regards student population. The emphasis is on the enrolment of a very broad age range in all programmes, in other words there is an interest in the "mature adult", minority groups, the elderly, disadvantaged groups, as well as the "traditional" immediate post-compulsory or post-high school student.

Equality of educational opportunity for all is accepted as a desirable educational objective. The means to achieve the objective is interpreted in terms of raising the awareness in specified communities of the value of education for community development through more efficient and more effective management of community affairs (e.g. the running of co-operatives in outlying rural areas of Saskatchewan), and the general development of the individual through self-directed learning in addition to the reduction of various barriers to entrance to formal educational programmes. Community "needs" are interpreted more in sociological (i.e. the improvement of social relationships) rather than in purely educational and cultural terms (i.e. the improvement of mind and body). "Education" and "community" are seen as largely divorced from one another by past practises. The need is to re-integrate the two so that "education" becomes more "relevant" to life as experienced in specific "communities". "Education" more closely related to "life" can then help solve social problems. The "community" appellation is interpreted as meaning the whole district or area, with its social, economic and

political as well as educational and cultural "needs", in which the "college" must operate. The college must be subordinate to the "community" or thought to be synonymous with the term "community" itself - Riederer when referring to the Saskatchewan community colleges spoke of the "college being the community and the community being the college".<sup>2</sup>

(iii) Diffused Deployment of Resources

The focus of attention is on the flexible use of existing physical resources in a "community" rather than on a concentration of resources within a campus or series of campuses. Facilities are shared with or hired from other existing institutions - the libraries, other educational institutions, local government, industry, commerce, etc. There is also an emphasis on the extensive use of modern communications and educational technology for disseminating educational programmes and services over a broad geographical area. Such an orientation implies that programmes are taken "out" to students.

(iv) Concentrated Deployment of Resources

The emphasis is on a planned, often purpose-built, campus or campuses which house all resources, physical and human, and which are within acceptable commuting distance for people of a defined "community". Such facilities include social (leisure-oriented) as well as educational facilities to attract students and the wider "community" to come "in".

Construction of the Typology

Using the polar extremes of both continua it is theoretically possible to construct four types of colleges with the following "pure" or ideal type characteristics -

1. Inner-directed values and a diffused deployment of resources which for simplicity can be called "diffused inner-directed".
2. Inner-directed values and a concentrated deployment of resources to be called "concentrated inner-directed".

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2. Riederer. "An Experiment with the College as the Community and the Community as the College" in College Perspectives '75: New Thrusts - New Musts.



3. Outer-directed values and a diffused deployment of resources to be called "diffused outer-directed".
4. Outer-directed values and a concentrated deployment of resources to be called "concentrated outer-directed".

In reality no community college exists in one of these totally pure forms. However examples can be found of colleges that approximate some of these constructs.

The first - diffused inner-directed - is not one that can be easily identified amongst the community colleges of the U.S.A., Canada and England at present, though it does approximate some of the main characteristics of the Open University of England. It may happen that the Saskatchewan colleges, which heavily emphasise "diffusion" of resources, could also begin to adopt inner-directed values if the universities and institutes of technology exert a dominating influence over their development.

The "concentrated inner-directed" construct is much closer to the traditional characteristics of the American junior college - the prototype of the American public comprehensive community college and still a significant institutional pattern in the United States.

The Saskatchewan and the fourth community college of the Kansas Metropolitan Junior College system clearly exhibit diffused outer-directed tendencies.

Concentrated outer-directed characteristics in their extreme form represent special cases. Institutions with these tendencies represent attempts at what might be called "total community" planning - the integration of a wide range of recreational, cultural, welfare and even commercial services with a broad range of educational provision. These are generally located in disadvantaged urban areas or in housing estates or suburban residential and shopping complexes. The Abraham Moss Centre in England is an example of such a development in a disadvantaged urban area. It must be noted that some American campus-based

colleges are trying to promote greater "outer-directedness" by promoting the community service function, though there is little evidence of practical progress so far.

#### Some Introductory Comments on the Use of the Typology

The terms "inner-directed" and "outer-directed" are value free. Inner-directed institutions are not necessarily conservative. The Open University in England - an institution that can be characterised as exhibiting diffused inner-directed values - has helped to develop more flexible attitudes towards credit articulation between higher educational institutions. Even the CEGEPs, viewed by some as an example of a highly conservative community college under the domination of the universities, can be judged in the context of Quebec as a significant departure from past educational traditions.

Similarly, an extreme outer-directed institution is not necessarily the answer if the object is the provision of an innovative comprehensive educational service. There is no guarantee, for example, that the Saskatchewan community college system will not become exceedingly narrow and conservative in its educational provision. Given its strong "consumer" orientation it could well be that public demand, and ipso facto the colleges' educational programme, will be for a limited range of post-secondary educational provision.

The example of Lethbridge Community College in Alberta illustrates that, given the choice, many "communities" may prefer their community colleges to be inner-directed and to chase university status. Certainly many American Junior and Community Colleges have found it very hard to promote non-academic programmes over many years, suggesting a pure outer-directed community college would not necessarily generate any exciting educational innovations.

Outer-directed community colleges are in fact institutions whose professional teaching and administrative staff are committed to making the "community" more aware of their educational "needs" and more confident in assessing the most appropriate content, format and

evaluative methods for meeting those needs. A pre-condition for outer-directedness is not college passivity in its relations with its "community". One of Harlacher's predictions in 1967 was that the American community colleges would be promoting the community service functions more vigorously partly by developing "aggressive multi-service outreach programmes".<sup>3</sup> Regarding the teaching-learning process, inner-directed values require the learner to adapt to the curricula developed by the teaching profession. Outer-directed values emphasise the requirements of the learner, which are discovered in consultation with the teachers, and the commitment of the teacher to meet those requirements. The quality of teaching is a factor quite independent of both situations. The essential difference between the two approaches in their purest forms lies in the answer to the question who has the power to determine the content, format and evaluation of educational programmes - the teacher or the student?

The "inner-directed - outer directed" continuum can be used to compare value biases of one community college against another. It can also be used to examine differences in such biases between functions within the one institution. The Leicestershire community colleges for example combine secondary school provision with adult education and youth services. The latter two services have strong "consumer" orientations and, in that respect, are more outer-directed than the secondary school courses run for school children. Similarly, some American community colleges have diversified their functions to the extent that community services with strong outer-directed biases are provided at the same time as academic-transfer courses with strong inner-directed tendencies. The possible implications of these "inner" contradictions will be examined later.

The interest of national governments in the development of very expensive technologically oriented programmes designed to meet the manpower requirements of industry may well pose problems for both inner-

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3. Harlacher. The Community Dimension of the Community College, pp.70-107.

directed and outer-directed community colleges.<sup>4</sup> The former would tend to view such programmes as of inferior status to academic-transfer programmes. The latter may well wish to avoid involving themselves in organising such large scale and inflexible programmes with their inevitable bias towards concentration of resources. The outcome of such a situation would be a dilution of some aspects of outer-directedness since such programmes cannot be taken "out" to students given the need to base expensive equipment in a specific location.

#### Questions and Tentative Hypotheses Suggested by the Typology

The very newness of community colleges - most have been built or created as a result of re-organisations of existing institutions since the mid 1960s - and the consequential shortage of time in which to formally develop their own traditions and identities make them more vulnerable to change. Their very modernity means they epitomise the latest and are expected to change direction more quickly than older educational institutions, particularly at the post-secondary level. In the terms of this typology there are likely to exhibit considerable movement towards either polar types of each continuum.

The factors promoting change are important in understanding the dynamics of community colleges as institutions, both in terms of their relations with their "communities" they serve and other educational institutions, and in terms of the resolution of strains within the institutions caused by the development of "co-existing" functions with different value biases.

The factors that will be isolated for examination and the questions or hypotheses that will follow are largely speculative, suggesting possible areas of further research.

#### Factors Affecting Movement Along the Inner-directed - Outer-directed Continuum

The extent to which inner-directed or outer-directed values

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4. See section "The Vocational Educational Dilemma" in Gleazer's, Project Focus, pp.104-115.

and objectives are pursued could be a function of any one or more of the following -

(i) The interpretation of the meaning of "equality of educational opportunity for all". In the movement from a mass to a universal higher educational system Americans are beginning to view higher education as a right rather than a privilege. It has been predicted that in such a situation the universities, particularly the bigger state universities, will attempt to protect their "autonomous" functions partly by pressuring community colleges to take up more of their "popular" functions or, in other words to become more inner-directed. Presumably this situation could heighten the community colleges' concern not to be seen as a junior component of a higher educational system dominated by the universities. A possible hypothesis for investigation is that the greater the movement towards mass and universal higher education the sharper the tensions between post-secondary community colleges and universities over the issue of parity of esteem.

Another possibility is that, faced with campus problems caused by the influx of poorly motivated students following the wide-spread acceptance that higher education is a universal right, universities may well adopt a policy of diffused deployment of resources to keep as many of these students as possible off the campuses.

(ii) Conflict Between Inner- and Outer-Directed Functions Within a Community College. The more community colleges diversify their functions the greater the likelihood of internal conflicts or strains being generated by the different value biases of various functions. One obvious example is the possibility of clashes over values between professional teaching staff involved in the promotion of the community service function on the one hand and those concerned with academic transfer programmes on the other. The possible resolution is to promote one function, or to drop or subordinate functions with biases strongly at variance with the favoured function or functions. For example the more inner-directed the

community college becomes the more it is likely to drop outer-directed functions or avoid developing them. Lethbridge Junior College in Alberta strongly supported the development of academic transfer programmes in its drive for university status. There was little diversification of functions in the process. The opposite situation in which inner-directed functions are dropped is less likely to occur unless the high status of universities can be ignored. The more likely resolution would be the subordination of inner-directed functions in favour of an all-embracing "community service" function as proposed by Gleazer, Myran and Harlacher.

The movement from a mass to a universal higher education system may well sharpen such "inner" tensions within community colleges. Those colleges wishing to promote outer-directed functions could be under increasing pressures from the "community" as well as the universities to provide more popular functions largely in the form of academic transfer programmes and vocational and technical programmes. A possible hypothesis therefore is that the greater the movement from mass to universal higher education the sharper the divisions between inner and outer-directed functions within community colleges and the greater the movement of such colleges along the inner-directed - outer-directed continuum in an attempt to resolve these tensions.

Conflicts between the values of different functions in English community colleges tends to focus on the inner-directed tendencies of school studies compared with the outer-directed orientation of adult education and youth services. It is possible that the practice of releasing some school teachers to undertake professional duties in adult education or community education work has the effect of lessening the tensions inherent in this situation. The other device for modifying potential conflict is the provision of separate physical facilities for all three functions.

(iii) The Extent of the "Identity Crisis". Diversification of functions also seems to be associated with confusion over the identity or image of

the college, particularly in the eyes of the public. It would appear that there could be an inverse correlation between the degree of diversification and the sharpness or clearness of an institution's image.

As in the case of institutional strains caused by functions with differing values, the possible solution would again be to move the overall policy direction of the institution towards either end of the inner directed - outer directed continuum. A possible hypothesis for closer examination is that the nearer the overall institutional move toward either end of the inner directed - outer directed continuum the greater the reduction of the "identity crisis".

(iv) Changing Enrolment Patterns. There seems to be a strong indication in the United States that a lowering in the growth rate of enrolments from traditional sources - the high school graduates - had led to a growing concern for the community colleges to seek out new "markets". New "markets" could be elderly citizens, "mature" adults, particularly women over 35 wishing to improve their education and return to work, and disadvantaged minority groups. The same process has also strongly encouraged some community colleges to investigate the community service function to revive flagging enrolments.

Similar changes in enrolment patterns are beginning to be noted in Canada. Lipkin points to an increasing enrolment of women in the CEGEP of Quebec and suggests that this will help change admission policies.

Model E, the fifth option in the English government paper "Higher Education in the 1990s", speculates that increasing enrolments among "mature" adults in higher educational courses could be best met by adopting recurrent educational policies - policies which would have outer-directed biases.

It is possible that rising enrolments of more mature and experienced adult students in North American community colleges could effect changes in the nature and orientation of counselling and guidance functions.

For example the significance of the "cooling-out" function could decline as mature students are more likely to know their capabilities. In a sense selection would increasingly occur before students enter college as those with poor ability and motivation are unlikely to present themselves for entry into academic programmes. However, the conditions for this situation would have to be carefully spelt out. It may only apply in pre-universal higher education stages. Once the point of universal higher education is reached a significant minority of students may not be motivated in the same way according to Trow. In that situation vocal students might try to push community colleges towards an extreme outer-directed position as a reaction to the inner-directed values of some of their main programmes. In turn professional teachers could as a backlash to the situation press for far more inner-directed programmes. The resolution of tension caused by such conflicting demands is impossible to predict. If the community colleges became more outer-directed it is possible that the universities might try to reject or isolate them in an attempt to protect their traditional 'autonomous' functions. If the community colleges became extremely inner-directed, their relationship with other higher educational institutions would be protected but possibly at the expense of incurring considerable student unrest.

(v) The Demand for Accountability. The U.S.A., Canada and the United Kingdom have experienced reduced levels of spending in education and an increasing demand for accountability for educational expenditure. In the case of the United Kingdom it may be possible to speculate that the growing pressures for broader community representation on the governing boards of secondary schools for example is, in part, an outcome of the demand for accountability. One area of possible research is the relationship if any between such developments and outer-directed changes in secondary and higher educational institutions.

In California recent moves by the residents to reduce local government expenditure on education and welfare coupled with the demand for accountability might encourage colleges to drop "expensive"



programmes and concentrate on a narrower but cheaper range of functions - particularly academic transfer courses which would re-inforce the university influence over community colleges. On the other hand, the same factors coupled with a rigorous search for new sources of students and perhaps programmes might encourage outer-directed tendencies.

At their simplest, the propositions for further examination are that in the United States and Canada in particular, the increasing demand for accountability combined with reduced levels of educational expenditure will tend to reinforce inner-directed tendencies if traditional enrolment sources - high school graduates - are given priority over potential new adult sources of students or, alternatively, outer-directed tendencies if the enrolment bias moves away from high school graduates.

Factors Affecting Movement Along the Diffused-Concentrated Continuum.

(1) Time and Money. Martin<sup>5</sup> has pointed out that "non-traditional" students in the U.S.A. have brought about changes in attitudes towards accessibility and facilities. Many community colleges without time and money are taking education to the students by borrowing, renting or leasing and renovating all kinds of learning areas which are "off-campus". Saskatchewan's proposal for a policy of "diffused" deployment of resources was also partially determined by economic and time factors. The province could not afford a network of purpose-built campuses but wanted to make post-secondary educational provisions quickly and easily accessible to rural as well as urban areas.

A possible hypothesis for testing in connection with community colleges is that the greater the budget for educational buildings and the greater the time available in which to spend it, the greater the bias towards "concentration" of resources in multipurpose campuses, and vice-versa, the greater the bias towards diffusion of resources.

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5. Martin. "Recent Trends in Community College Occupational Education", in Community College Review, 1974.

(ii) Extent of Geographic Mobility. Morrissey<sup>6</sup> has argued in favour of more state control of community colleges in the United States given increased population mobility and economic change. He argues that in these conditions local control must inevitably become less effective.

By implication the same argument could be used against the future development of concentrated rather than diffused community colleges. Diffusion of resources alters the concept of "community" to be served. A "concentrated" campus-oriented institution in North America tends to define its "community" in terms of the college's geographic accessibility. Inevitably limits must be set on how far such colleges can be located from students. Diffusion permits the concept of "community" to cover a more dispersed population as the location of resources is not such a critical concern. The use of media technology, external studies, packaged programmes etc., makes distance less of a problem. Diffusion of resources would appear to suit those "communities" characterised by high rates of geographic mobility.

The hypothesis to be tested would be the greater the degree of geographic mobility the greater the bias to diffused deployment of community college resources.

(iii) Attitudes Towards Teacher-Student Relations. The inner-directed - outer-directed continuum shows, amongst other things, differences in the relationship between the teacher and the student as regards curriculum determination. It does not cover the quality of the social relationship involved - whether it should be intimate or distant, or even whether it is a matter of concern.

The diffused-concentrated continuum on the other hand could be affected by such a variable. A diffused deployment of resources by its very nature must subordinate the affective dimensions of the teacher-student or counsellor-student relationship to the need for an efficient system of dispensing educational services over a broad geographical area.

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6. Morrissey. "An Alternative: State Control" in Junior College Journal, 36, 1968, pp.16-19.

Though counselling of students is generally considered important, the logistical problems involved in meeting students on a fairly regular basis are very difficult to solve. Further, the solution tends to be sought in requesting students to attend special seminars or study workshops held over weekends or term vacation periods at specific locations where human and physical resources can be temporarily concentrated.

Concentrated institutions can and do pay more attention, even if it is only lip service, to the affective needs of students by encouraging regular and close contact between students and teachers or counsellors. The mystique of the "community of scholars" or "the community within" certainly conveys such a connotation.

The hypothesis is that a commitment to the ideal of close student-teacher or student-counsellor relationships tends to discourage the diffused deployment of resources.

#### Limitations of the Typology

The typology developed is tentative and crude and, as such, leaves many significant aspects of community colleges untouched. For example, analyses of the terms "community" and "needs" would require a more sophisticated approach than has been adopted here. Even at the level of studying educational programmes conducted by community colleges, far more attention needs to be given the area of technical and vocational education than has been possible.

Variables of significance for the development of community colleges which had to be excluded from serious study for reasons of time and space, and which even at a very general level of study should be considered, include the effects of different types of post-secondary co-ordinative machinery and master plans operating at a state, provincial, or equivalent level, the effect of different institutional structures, and finally the effects of different leadership styles. Perhaps the question of leadership could be examined partially in terms of the

biases of community college principals to inner-directed or outer-directed values.

Despite these limitations it is hoped that the typology can be seen as a heuristic device for generating some insights and directing attention to possible areas for further research. On that basis the ideal types that have been constructed will be used as analytical tools in the examination of the potential for developing community college systems in Australia.

PART VI: AUSTRALIACHAPTER 20A COMMUNITY COLLEGE MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA?The Growing Interest in Community Colleges

Raymond Edward Meyer in 1969 observed that the technical colleges in Australia had fulfilled some of the functions of the community colleges in America. In addition to occupational education, technical colleges had provided cultural courses for the immediate community, and remedial or developmental education. He noted that the Martin Committee believed that its important functions had been undervalued in the national educational structure.<sup>1</sup>

Meyer hopes that the type of non-university tertiary education recommended by the Martin Report would lead to the development of American style of community colleges in Australia. His study set out to compare educational values, purposes, and practices of Californian community colleges with those proposed for the Australian colleges of advanced education, and to recommend ideas and procedures developed in the new Australian colleges. Meyer's hopes were perhaps encouraged by the knowledge that "some members of the Martin Committee and its secretariat visited California to gain first-hand information on that State's systems of community colleges and higher education".<sup>2</sup>

Following the support of the Menzies Government for new colleges the Wark report in 1966 reviewed the response of various states to the concept of the new college which it saw as "not to be confused with the type of college known in America as a Junior College".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Meyer, R.E. Californian Community Colleges: Implications for Colleges of Advanced Education in Australia. Los Angeles, University of California 1969. p24. At this point Meyer cites Tertiary Education in Australia, Report of the Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia to the Australian Universities Commission (Melbourne, 1964-5), known as "The Martin Report".

<sup>2</sup> Harman, G.S. "The North American Community College Idea and its Possible Relevance for Australia." A paper given to the Conference on The Community College in Australia?, Darling Downs. Institute of Advanced Education, 25-28. November 1976.

<sup>3</sup> Meyer, op. cit. 37.

Meyer still hoped that some of the features of the Californian community colleges would be adopted. He noted for example that the Committee of Enquiry into the Need for a College of Advanced Education in the Australian Territory, known as the 'Canberra Report', recommended a system of credits for units of study on a term or quarter basis, and lower level courses in addition to diplomas. The Report of the Committee Appointed by the Minister for Education and Science to Investigate the Proposal to Establish a C.A.E. at Bathurst, known as the Heath Report, took issue with the Wark Committee on the question of the relevance of American community colleges for the Australian C.A.E's.<sup>4</sup> He also noted that the Tasmanian College of Advanced Education, which was the first of the "new concept" colleges to be planned de novo<sup>5</sup> made provision for counselling to reduce "wastage by neglect to the lowest possible point" and to ensure "continuity in the development of the individual student"<sup>6</sup>, an unusual feature for tertiary education in Australia but not in American community colleges.

In 1972, however, Partridge was already speculating on the possible direction the C.A.E.s could take including a tendency to emulate universities.<sup>7</sup> He felt that if this occurred there could be a need to promote another institution which might resemble to some extent the United States community colleges. He also felt that given the emerging status difference within the C.A.E. movement, particularly between the larger metropolitan institutions, the very small and restricted C.A.E.s in country areas could be better off acquiring "some of the functions and virtues of the better American community colleges".<sup>8</sup> Overall his support

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p40.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p43.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p69.

<sup>7</sup> Partridge, P.H. The Future of Higher Education: Problems and Perspectives in Australian Higher Education: Problems of a Developing System, edited by Harman, G.S. and Selby Smith, C: Angus and Robertson 1972, p178.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p179.

for the community college concept as understood in the United States was a qualified one. He felt that the prevailing binary system of higher education in Australia could not accommodate the American community college model as it was not fully tertiary as understood in Australian terms in 1972. Much of the teaching for example was identical with teaching in Australian technical colleges.<sup>9</sup>

Grant Harman provided an excellent overview at the end of 1976 of the increase of interest in the idea of community colleges that occurred "over the past four or five years". His summary is worth quoting at length:-

- A community college has been developed by the Commonwealth Government in Darwin. This offers a range of tertiary and sub-tertiary programmes.
- With the further development of the technical and further education area, it is now suggested that technical colleges broaden their bases to offer more liberal studies and adult education courses, and to gear their programmes more to local needs.
- The Technical and Further Education Commission and its predecessor (the Australian Committee on Technical and Further Education) have discussed community colleges in each of their reports. In its 1976 report the Commission said that it held the view that the development of multi-level community colleges, "carefully planned to meet community needs, could become an important feature of moves to rationalise the post-secondary area".<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p172.

<sup>10</sup> Technical and Further Education Commission: Report for the Triennium 1977-1979, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1976, p89.

- The report of the Regional Colleges Project<sup>14</sup> indicates that some colleges of advanced education (or at least some of their staff members) wish to become more like community colleges.
- In some states in recent months there have been definite moves made towards the establishment of community colleges. For example, at the present time in New South Wales investigations are being made with the view of establishing colleges centred on Dubbo and Tamworth. Similar planning exercises for colleges in non-metropolitan areas are being carried out in both Victoria and South Australia.<sup>15</sup>

The high level of interest reported by Grant Harman has continued since 1976. Community college concepts and proposals are discussed in major reports on post-secondary education in Western Australia<sup>16</sup>, Tasmania<sup>17, 18, 19</sup> Victoria<sup>20</sup> and South Australia.<sup>21</sup> A variety of

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- <sup>14</sup> D.S. Anderson, K.J. Batt, D.G. Beswick, G.S. Harman and C. Selby Smith (eds.), Regional Colleges: A Study of Non-Metropolitan Colleges of Advanced Education, Education Research Unit, Research School of Social Sciences. Australian National University, Canberra, 1975. 3 vols.
- <sup>15</sup> Harman. Paper given to the Conference on The Community College in Australia?
- <sup>16</sup> The W.A. Report.
- <sup>17</sup> The Karmel Report.
- <sup>18</sup> Report of the Ministerial Working Party on Tertiary Education, Tasmania, under the Chairmanship of D.A. Kearney, Printing Section, University of Tasmania, 1978. To be known as "The Kearney Report".
- <sup>19</sup> Tasmanian Education: Next Decade, Report of Next Decade (TEND) Committee under the Chairmanship of Professor W.F. Connell, Education Department, Tasmania, Hobart, 1978. To be known as "The TEND Report".
- <sup>20</sup> Report of the Post-Secondary Education Committee of Inquiry, under the Chairmanship of Professor P.H. Partridge, Government Printer, Melbourne 1976. To be known as "The Victorian Report".
- <sup>21</sup> Post-Secondary Education in South Australia, Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Post-Secondary Education in South Australia, under the Chairmanship of D.S. Anderson, Government Printer, South Australia, 1979. To be known as "The Anderson Report".



- A recent report on post-secondary education in Western Australia recommends the development of community colleges in selected country centres. This report, prepared by a committee headed by Professor P.H. Partridge states clearly - "We believe that the main features of the community college, as it has evolved overseas and in Darwin, present a pattern that can be adapted to Western Australian conditions." 11
- A similar report on Tasmania recommends as a high priority the development of technical and further education in the north-west of the state. It suggests that at Burnie the technical and matriculation colleges could be integrated to possibly form a community college.<sup>12</sup>
- In 1974 Professor John Dennison of the University of British Columbia wrote a report<sup>13</sup> on community colleges for the Poverty Commission. In this he recommended adoption of the North American community college model. More specifically his recommendations were that further university development should be discouraged, that only a small number of the larger colleges of advanced education should remain as colleges of advanced education, that the remaining C.A.E.s should become county colleges, and that a number of additional community colleges be developed, some from existing technical colleges.

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11. Post-Secondary Education in Western Australia: Report of the Committee on Post-Secondary Education, appointed by the Minister for Education in Western Australia under the Chairmanship of Professor P.H.Partridge, Government Printer, Perth, 1976, p.110. To be known as "The W.A.Report"
  12. Report of the Committee on Post-Secondary Education in Tasmania, under the Chairmanship of Professor P.Karmel, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1976, pp.72-73, To be known as "The Karmel Report".
  13. John D.Dennison, "The Community College Concept and Its Application to Post-Secondary Education in Australia", report to the Commonwealth Commission of Enquiry into Poverty, Melbourne, 1974.

community college proposals are also discussed in the Commonwealth Government's Report of Inquiry into Education and Training, chaired by Professor B.R. Williams.<sup>22</sup>

#### Examples of Recent Community College Proposals and Developments

The introduction of community colleges in the Northern Territory and the proposal to introduce another type of community college in Tasmania are subject for separate study (See Appendix). A quick overview will be provided of community college proposals for Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales.

#### Western Australia

The W.A. Report recommended "the establishment in selective centres, of comprehensive community colleges as a means of decentralising post-secondary education in Western Australia." Also recommended "that these colleges should be closely associated with, and where possible evolved from, the system of technical schools in country districts".<sup>23</sup>

It referred to the Pilbara Study (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra 1974) and, in view of the remoteness of the area, the size of its population and various social problems involved, it recommended the establishment of technical schools at Karratha and Port Hedland "to be planned in such a way as to make their early development into community colleges".<sup>24</sup>

It also examines the needs of the South Western Region of Western Australia which is another isolated area but with less severe

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<sup>22</sup> Education, Training and Employment, Report of Inquiry into Education and Training, Volume 1, under the Chairmanship of B.R. Williams, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra, 1979. To be known as "The Williams Report".

<sup>23</sup> The W.A. Report. p111.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p120.

problems than those of the Pilbara. The Committee received a submission from the Bunbury Regional Promotion Committee the main points of which stressed:

- (a) "The need to centralise the administration of post-secondary education, and to give a considerable measure of autonomy to regional authorities under the W.A. Tertiary Education Commission.
- (b) The establishment of a regional open tertiary college in co-operation with the proposed National Institute of Open Tertiary Education.<sup>25</sup>
- (c) The establishment of a C.A.E., with the recognition that a department of teacher education would be essential for the success of this venture".<sup>26</sup>

The proposal for a C.A.E. was rejected in favour of a community college based on the existing Bunbury Technical School and involving the "the transfer of a measure of autonomy to a local school council and the principal".<sup>27</sup>

A similar recommendation was made for the Eastern Goldfields Technical School at Kalgoorlie.<sup>28</sup>

The concept of the community college behind these recommendations was very much that of the North American community college and the Darwin Community College. References were made to Denison's article on the community college concept and its application to post-secondary education in Australia<sup>29</sup> and the common features of a community college as outlined by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.<sup>30</sup> In the case of the Darwin Community College quotations on the range of community studies

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p114.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p123.

<sup>27</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. pp.124-135.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p108.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p109.

and activities were quoted from the college handbook of 1975.<sup>31</sup>

However, community colleges were considered only for "a few selected country centres"<sup>32</sup> and not as an extensive pattern for Western Australia. The Western Australian Post-Secondary Education Commission, which was subsequently set up, endorsed the community college concept as a means of meeting post-secondary needs in country areas although no action had been taken to implement specific proposals by 1979.<sup>33</sup>

### Victoria

In 1974 Chris Duke commented that Prahran College of Advanced Education had "redefined its role, uniquely within Australia, as an adult and community-oriented tertiary college which seeks to integrate with the learning needs and opportunities of the local community, and to attract mature age students rather than compete with the plethora of other tertiary institutions for the same pool of school leavers".<sup>34</sup>

In 1976 S.F. Morton outlined "The Case of the Shepparton Community College in Victoria". He discussed the major issues relating to the planning of a community college to be located at Shepparton and to serve the people of the Goulburn Region. He reported that in 1974 the State Government purchased a site at Shepparton for the purpose of post-secondary education and in 1975 following submission funds were made available to the Shepparton Technical College Council by the then Commonwealth Technical and Further Education Commission to make a start on planning. The Council immediately began planning "a multi-disciplinary, multi-level educational institution that would cater for the particular needs of the people of the Goulburn Region, from the

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p110.

<sup>32</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup> The Williams Report. p776.

<sup>34</sup> Duke, C. Recurrent Education: Policy and Development in OECD Member Countries. Australia. CERI. OECD, 1974, p77.

upper levels of secondary education, through a range of vocational, technical, cultural and recreational courses, to early tertiary level with a possibility of developing full tertiary courses in the future as the need arose". The Committee recommended the development of "a sophisticated central resource centre at the college with satellite centres located in association with existing secondary schools in each of the surrounding centres of population. The philosophy behind this being that in some instances resources will be sent throughout the region to the people, both students and the public, where they are, rather the users having to travel to the resources".<sup>35</sup>

In 1978 Professor Partridge chaired another committee of enquiry into the provision of post-secondary education for Victoria. This Committee received several submissions for the extension of post-secondary educational opportunities in country areas which tended to emphasise the need for community colleges of the North American type. Partridge divided them up into three types -

1. Submissions from ad hoc local committees in areas such as Sunraysia asking for a new college to be established by an act of parliament which would grow out of existing technical and further educational and adult educational activities. The colleges would be substantially independent and would offer courses at all post-school levels up to degree transfer. A submission from the Goulburn Valley committee for the Promotion of Adult Continuing Education (the P.A.C.E. submission) was included in this group.

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35. Morton, S.F. The Case of the Shepparton Community College in Victoria. A paper given to the Conference on The Community College in Australia? Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education, 25-28, November 1976.

2. Submissions from larger regional TAFE colleges, especially those with interests in continuing education, to be recognised as multi-purpose, multi-level community colleges (eg. Preston, Box Hill, Moorabbin and the Ballarat School of Mines).
3. Submissions from C.A.E.s also to be multi-level, multi-purpose institutions. These generally came from those colleges having difficulties building up enrolments to ensure long term viability or, in the case of the State College of Victoria Colleges, anticipating declining enrolments (eg. Prahran, Gippsland, Warrnombool, Coburg, Burwood and Frankston).<sup>36</sup>

The Committee was hesitant about the possibility of applying the concept of the American community college to Australian and Victorian conditions in particular. It admitted that a "thorough study of the North American college system" had not been undertaken. It felt that some of the functions of American community colleges were already being fulfilled by institutions such as the TAFE colleges and to some extent the C.A.E.s, but it argued that the "transfer" role of the American colleges "could not be easily fitted into Australian arrangements". It also felt that the absence of funding by local governing authorities in Australian education would inhibit a high level of local interest in and control of the affairs of the community college.

The Committee was concerned that the PACE submission which would involve the building and staffing of a community college under its own Act would "generate pressures leading to educational escalation, a process in which Victoria has already suffered more than enough". It also commented that "a separate legally established institution ———— would run the risk of entering into rivalry with the schools and

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<sup>36</sup> The Victorian Report, Chapter 8, p21.

colleges it has until now drawn upon. We feel that this proposal raises questions of rationalisation and co-ordination that ought to be studied before any commitment is entered into. It is at present not clear how such a community college would relate to the existing system of TAFE institutions".<sup>37</sup>

Overall the Committee took the more cautious line pending further study of the greater sharing of staff and resources between TAFE colleges and colleges of advanced education.<sup>38</sup>

#### South Australia

In 1979 the report on "Post-Secondary Education in South Australia" under the chairmanship of Dr. D.S. Anderson was released. It will be referred simply as the Anderson Report.

As in other States, there is a growing concern with the problem of overlap between sectors of post-secondary education in South Australia, particularly the C.A.E. s and the TAFE colleges. Possible solutions to this problem could lay in setting up a co-ordinating authority to settle sectoral boundary disputes or by setting up multi-level institutions offering TAFE and higher education courses which would simply dissolve the sectoral boundaries.<sup>39</sup>

Submissions were received from the South Australian Board of Advanced Education and the South Australian Department of Further Education. The former argued that there was no need for the establishment of a new type of institution. It suggested instead a limited expansion of some institutions in each sector to offer courses in the other sector through the co-operative use of staff and facilities or the merging of existing institutions. As in the case of Victoria, the Board felt that colleges

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid. Ch. 8, p22.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. Ch. 8, p14.

<sup>39</sup> The Anderson Report, p145.

of Advanced Education could "offer further education activities to a limited extent by using their expertise and facilities to provide courses not available from further education institutions, to offer bridging courses to the higher courses, and to offer higher level in-service and continuing education work".<sup>40</sup>

The Department of Further Education also argued against the establishment of a new kind of institution but suggested that the existing network of further educational colleges should be used to form a system of community colleges.

It argued "autonomous multi-level colleges have not always been successful elsewhere owing to neglect of the less academically oriented courses and tensions between staff about different salaries and conditions". However it did support the development of multi-level community colleges for country areas where participation rates in post secondary education are reported as less than half that for city residents.<sup>41</sup>

A submission from the Steering Committee for a South-East Community College centered on Mt. Gambia was received. The concept involved the provision of post-secondary educational programmes over a wide range of fields of varying levels including diploma and associated diploma courses, para-professional certificate courses, vocational and trade courses, remedial and bridging courses, linked secondary and further education courses, liberal studies courses, enrichment and cultural courses, up-dating and re-training courses, and courses to regenerate motivation for learning. The Steering Committee was influenced by Dennison's article on community colleges. It suggested that the community college should be flexible in organisation, arrangement of facilities and

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Ibid. p146.

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Ibid. p146.



use of resources; be responsive to community needs; include local community members on governing councils; be recognised as a class of institution within the tertiary education system; and offer courses which are accredited bridging courses to programmes in other institutions.<sup>42</sup>

The Anderson Report disliked the use of the term "community colleges" in the Australian context. It agreed with the TAFE Commission which expressed concern that the term was being loosely used in Australia,<sup>43</sup> and argued against "the uncritical comparison of Australian proposals with North American examples, particularly the community colleges of California and British Columbia". It pointed to four differences between the Australian and North American situations:-

1. The tradition of local government and taxation is not so strong in Australia and would limit capacity for local control.
2. Australia is highly urbanised and there are few communities of sufficient size to support a community college of the North American kind.
3. The three post-secondary sectors in Australia are subject to different funding arrangements and kinds of administrative control.
4. The variations in salaries and conditions of service applying in these different sectors make for special difficulties.

It also drew attention to Darwin Community College which had "experienced some difficulties in establishing a satisfactory academic organisation and a staffing structure suitable to a diverse set of teaching areas and levels." <sup>44</sup>

It elaborated further on the casual use of the term "Community college" in Australia and made a critical statement on the way it was

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. pp.146-147.

<sup>43</sup> Technical and Further Education Commission: Report for the Triennium 1977-1979. p.XXXIII.

<sup>44</sup> The Anderson Report. pp.147-148.

being used to describe some of the Further Educational colleges in South Australia. It conceded that the renaming of TAFE colleges as community colleges "has been accompanied by a heightened awareness that the college should be responsive to the needs of the immediate community", but pointed out that the change of name "does not appear to have been accompanied by major changes in the governance of colleges, in the level at which courses are offered, in the types of subjects taught, in the depth of study, in advisory services available to potential students, or in the extent of off-campus community outreach programmes". Criticism was softened by the concession that the Department of Further Education colleges "are constrained by their boundary with the colleges of advanced education, by present funding arrangements and, with the respect to local involvement in governments, by the authority of the Department".<sup>45</sup>

The Anderson Report finally recommended against a single new institutional model in favour of either Department of Further Education institutions providing some higher educational studies under licence, or a college of advanced education with authority to teach certain TAFE stream 6 studies. In country areas it felt that the Department of Further Education institutions were the only realistic base for higher education studies and suggested that arrangements be entered into with universities and colleges of advanced education involving licensing agreements which would permit the use of visiting higher education lecturers, or the use of accredited Department of Further Education staff. It suggested that these colleges be called regional colleges and that where funding procedures preclude higher education to be provided by TAFE, suitable arrangements should be sought with the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p148.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. pp. 148-149.

The report proposed that multi-level regional colleges be set up at Whyalla involving the amalgamation of the Whyalla College of Further Education and the Whyalla campus of the South Australian Institute of Technology, and at Noarlunga, a growth area currently with a population of about 70,000 which is expected to grow to about 750,000 in 1991.<sup>47</sup>

#### New South Wales

The Northern Rivers College of Advanced Education has established "Community Learning Units". At Grafton the Learning Unit "consists of a group of Grafton and district citizens interested in learning and civic development". The college assists by supplying accounting and managerial expertise but the community controls the programme. "The committee selects staff from wherever available to offer courses of the non-accredited type. Any other post-secondary institution in the area is represented on the committee so as to avoid duplication. All the non-accredited courses must be self-funding". Already the Community Learning Unit in Grafton has encouraged the college to offer units of accredited courses to those of appropriate qualifications. The Taree Community Learning Unit involves the promotion of the courses varying from in "in-service type programmes in counselling lasting a full year, through progressively developed computer courses, to French language lasting 24 weeks. There are also short courses of the more practical nature, but all are requested by the community working through a small group of enthusiastic volunteer lectures of the college. This group reports to the principal and council". At Lismore, the College operates a community radio station. The radio "was built by the technical staff, enthusiasm of the Information Resources Centre staff, energy of some of the teaching staff, a sponsor-finding campaign and the limitless industry and keenness of members of the student body. Quite a number of the community donated labour as well as finance, students and staff." Finally the college has taken over television

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47. Ibid. pp.204-205.

Channel Eight studios in Lismore and in 1976 was hoping to begin educational television productions for the local community.<sup>48</sup>

The Williams Report gave an outline of the recommendations of the N.S.W. Correy Report of 1977 on the possible application of the community college concept in the Orana and New England regions. The Correy Report favoured the introduction of community colleges based at Dubbo and in the New England area incorporating the present TAFE colleges and evening colleges within the regions, and placing them under Regional Councils.<sup>49</sup> The Williams Report noted that, if implemented, the Correy proposals would require an abandonment of the division of post-secondary education into the current sectors, and that New South Wales would need to consider ways of improving co-ordination perhaps by setting up a post-secondary education commission.

Lack of co-ordination in New South Wales would also hinder the chances of developing a multi-level post-secondary institution in the Albury-Wodonga area, given that Victoria has already introduced its own Post-Secondary Commission.<sup>50</sup>

#### Classification according to Community College Typology

If the community college proposals and current developments in Australia are compared with the four ideal type institutions outlined earlier, it would appear that the predominant pattern under attention is that of the concentrated inner-directed institution, inasmuch as the emphasis is on campus-based institutions and on the extension of academic higher education programmes to isolated areas. Discussion of outer-directed versus inner-directed values are rarely dwelt on at length.

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<sup>48</sup> Whitebrook, Dr. Frank. How a College can Respond to Community Needs. Paper given to the Conference: The Community College in Australia? Darling Downs. Institute of Advanced Education, 1976.

<sup>49</sup> The Williams Report. pp. 754-755.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p778.

Kevin Batt is an exception. In his study of regional colleges of advanced education he refers to the classic conflict in responsibilities where "emphasis on the needs of the community is held to be in conflict with the intellectual or academic aspirations of staff", also noted by Harlacher in the United States situation, and argues "it is being experienced in regional colleges as they work out their responsibilities to the local and national communities and to the traditions of learning which are both extra-regional and extra-national".<sup>51</sup>

A similar analysis involving references to the studies of Harlacher and Burton R. Clark's was made by Anderson (et al) in their studies of community colleges in the Northern Territory.<sup>52</sup>

As already noted the Shepparton College proposal for the Goulburn Valley in Victoria carries connotations of a diffuse approach to the deployment of its resources, though qualified, when it suggests that "in some instances resources would be sent out throughout the region to the people...."<sup>53</sup>

On the question of providing greater access to students living far from the major institutions of higher education, recent reports on post-secondary education tend to favour the development of a network of external study centres combined with increased flexibility and the provision of transfer credits. For example the Williams Report states once there is provision in each state for external students to earn degrees and diplomas on the basis of courses taken at more than one institution, it becomes possible to produce a national plan for particular

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51. Batt, K. J. The College in the Region: Reflections on the Changing Roles of Post-Secondary Country Colleges in Australia, Education Research Unit, Research School of Social Science, A.N.U., Canberra, 1977, pp.81-82.

52. Anderson, D. S. Batt, K. J. and Rosenber, K. J. Communities and Colleges (Post Compulsory Education in Northern Australia), Education Unit, Research School of Social Science, A.N.U. Canberra, 1976, pp.36-38.

53. Morton. The Case of the Shepparton Community College in Victoria.

universities and colleges to specialize in the production of external studies and materials, to produce a network of study centres, mount an effective effort in the development of educational technologies, and to appraise external studies in a systematic manner, identify weaknesses and seek solutions to them".<sup>54</sup>

Diffused outer-directed features can be seen in the W.A.I.T. "Open Learning Project" with its emphasis on contact learning at a distance<sup>55</sup> and the establishment of "Community Learning Units" of the Northern Rivers College of Advanced Education. There does not as yet appear to be any development which would fall into the concentrated outer-directed pattern though Hedley Beare et al in their provocative article "A Plan for Education in New Towns and Cities" comes close to suggesting this kind of a pattern at least in the provision of primary and secondary formal education and in the use of recreational facilities by the general community.<sup>56</sup>

#### General Conclusion

Interest in community colleges, particularly in the North American concept, is growing in Australia. Despite the unwillingness to implement community college systems at this stage, except in the Northern

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<sup>54</sup> The Williams Report. p780. See also:- The W.A. Report pp.113-116, and Open Tertiary Education. Draft Report of the Committee on Open University to the Australian Universities Commission, A.G.P.S. Canberra 1974 pp 102-109, and Anderson, D.S. and others. Communities and Colleges. Chapter 15.

<sup>55</sup> Walker, M.G. Towards a True Community College. The First Annual Report of the Open Learning Project. Submitted to the Educational Development Unit, Western Australian Institute of Technology, January 1975. (see also case study in Appendix).

<sup>56</sup> Beare, Hedley and others. A Plan for Education in New Towns and Cities Australian Department of Education, N.T. Division, A.G.P.S. Canberra, 1975.

Territory and Tasmania, and the caution in the use of the term community colleges expressed by the TAFE Commission and the Anderson Report, no major post-secondary education report has categorically ruled out the possibility of developing community colleges in the future, particularly for isolated country areas. The Anderson Report, for example, qualifies its caution in the use of the term "community college" by saying "some submissions to the Committee have acknowledged that the establishment of a multi-level college or a community college teaching both TAFE and higher education courses may be appropriate. Our recommendations allow for such a future development. Experience gained now from collaboration between neighbouring institutions will assist those guiding any development of multi-level colleges in the future".<sup>57</sup>

The Williams Report states that "names are not the essence of the proposal in the report of Post-Secondary Education in the Pilbara or in the Anderson Committee Report in South Australia" and supports "the basic conception of the proposed colleges in the Pilbara and the similar concepts in the Anderson Committee Report in South Australia. The Committee also supports the colleges proposed for the Orana and New England regions".<sup>58</sup>

The main model for emulation appears to be the more inner-directed concentrated community college models of British Columbia and perhaps the West Coast of the United States, particularly California. In most cases the movement out to the community is thought of more in terms of the efficient deployment of resources (i.e. movement along the concentrated-diffused axis), particularly the extension of external studies services. The few exceptions are the Open Learning Project of the Western

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<sup>57</sup> The Anderson Report. p 171.

<sup>58</sup> The Williams Report. p 778.

Australian Institute of Technology and perhaps a few regional colleges of advanced education, such as the Northern Rivers College of Advanced Education. Both these institutions, particularly the former, show some concern for placing the control of programming in the hands of the community.

There is considerable scope for further research and analysis of North American community college concepts. Partridge and Anderson in their reports on Victoria and South Australia respectively referred to the absence of local taxation in Australia as a major difficulty in generating community interest in and control of post-secondary institutions such as community colleges.

As a general pattern this is true for the United States though in recent years the increasing importance of state, and to some extent federal, as opposed to local funding is seen as threatening local control of American community colleges.<sup>59</sup> However except in British Columbia and until recently Alberta, local taxation is not a predominant feature of the over all funding of community colleges in Canada. In the case of Alberta local taxation was replaced by provincial financing for community colleges in 1969.<sup>60</sup> There are also significant departures from the predominant pattern in the United States. Massachusetts, Virginia, Minnesota, Oklahoma and Connecticut have community colleges which are fully state controlled with governing boards which in a legal sense represent the states, and not sections or regions of the states.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Gleazer, J. Project Focus.

<sup>60</sup> Campbell. "Community Colleges in Canada". CAUT.

<sup>61</sup> Ready, I.R. "North Carolina Revisited"; Helland, Philip C. "Minnesota Turns to State Junior Colleges"; Dunlap, E.T. "Oklahoma Looks to 1970"; Wellman, Fred L. and Hamel, Dana B. "Community College Progress in Virginia"; Nader, Shafeek. "The Community College in Connecticut"; in Junior Colleges: 50 States/50 Years, edited by Yarrington.



As regards the objection that there is insufficient population in country areas to justify the development of community colleges<sup>62</sup> Medsker noted that in 1968 over 30% of the community colleges in the United States had enrolments fewer than 500. He admitted doubts about their future but it could be worth further study to see how many of them survived and by what means. It may also be useful to make a special study of Oklahoma where many state financed community colleges operate in rural areas. Again there could be valuable parallels with some situations in rural Australia.

It is also worth noting that most of the public American colleges have been built or developed since the 1960' following the widespread introduction of state master planning. In fact Gleazer views master planning as important as local community interests in encouraging their development.<sup>63</sup>

It could be argued therefore that the absence of local taxation need not be a significant impediment to development of multi-level community oriented post-secondary institutions in Australia.

It would also appear that centralist control need not preclude lively community involvement. Campbell has commented on the strength of these features in the case of Quebec's centrally-controlled community colleges.<sup>64</sup>

There needs also to be a better understanding of the effects of changing enrolment patterns of post-secondary educational institutions such as community colleges in countries such as the United States and, to some extent, Canada. The significance of the development of interest in the community service function given changing enrolment patterns may be

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<sup>62</sup> The Anderson Report. p147.

<sup>63</sup> Gleazer. "After the Boom ... What Now For the Community Colleges?" Community and Junior College Journal.

<sup>64</sup> Campbell, Community Colleges in Canada.

highly relevant when discussing the desired functions of community colleges in Australia. Of the major reports on post-secondary education in Australia in recent years, only the Anderson Report gave serious attention to enrolment of students other than those from the 17 to 22 age group.<sup>65</sup>

Overall the growing interest in the community college concept carries with it the inevitable implication that Australian educationists are increasingly turning to the United States and Canada for comparative insights into the development of multi-level or multi-purpose educational institutions operating within a co-ordinated and planned post-secondary educational framework. Only in Tasmania could there be a significant departure from this trend. The proposed Tasmanian community colleges in the main resemble more closely English tertiary colleges than North American community colleges. Even in this case there could be a tendency to turn to North America as a reference point for analysing the dynamics of co-ordinating post-secondary systems.

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<sup>65</sup>

The Anderson Report. p19.

CHAPTER 21WHY IS THERE AN INTEREST IN COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN AUSTRALIAN POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION?Enrolment Patterns

The Williams Report noted that in 1967 seventy-one percent of secondary school pupils stayed on to school until the year 10 and twenty-three percent until the year 12. In 1977 the respective percentages were eighty-eight until the year 10 and thirty-five until the year 12. In the 1957 to 1977 period the percentages of the 17 to 22 age group enrolling in university under-graduate courses rose from 4.7 to 9.5, and first year enrolments in C.A.E.s rose from 3 to 9.6. Public expenditure on education rose from 2.1% in 1956-1957 to 5.8% in 1976-1977. The same period also saw a substantial increase in the Commonwealth funding of education. In 1956-1957 the Commonwealth financed 2.6% of public expenditure in education and in 1976-1977 42.1%.<sup>1</sup>

More recently the dramatic growth rate in Australian higher education, particularly in the advanced education sector, has had to be curtailed for economic reasons and because of indications of a likely levelling out in the numbers of students in the final year of secondary education moving onto higher education. The First Report of the National Population Inquiry (1975) predicted a decline in primary school numbers from 1976 to 1981 and from 1986 to 1991, low rates of growth in universities and colleges of advanced education from 1981 to 1986 and a decline in enrolments from 1991 to 1996.<sup>2</sup>

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1. The Williams Report. p.7.

2. loc. cit. See also:-

The W.A. Report. pp.17-18.

The Victorian Report. Chapter 3, p.2.

The Anderson Report. pp.18-19.

The TEND Report. p.53.

The changing enrolment pattern is likely to have serious repercussions for some sectors of post-secondary education, particularly colleges of advanced education specialising in teacher education, but not all are pessimistic about the situation. Kevin Batt, in a study of regional C.A.E.s, examined the implications of the "steady state situation" given the end of rapid expansion, and argues that steady state does not equate with stable state. He supports John Vaizey who argues that there is likely to be major sources of instability arising from the enrolment of "so-called new students", adults on campus and growing numbers of women and members of minority groups in the community.<sup>3</sup> Birrell concedes that the overall situation will be made worse by an oversupply of tertiary trained "job-hunters" in relation to employment vacancies which would lead to public disenchantment with the value of higher education. However he is not defeatist and argues that tertiary education must be more aware of the problems it is about to face and more resourceful in innovating with courses and programmes.<sup>4</sup>

The Anderson Report on South Australia is perhaps the most optimistic of all the major reports of state post-secondary education systems. In a section entitled "Latent Demand for Higher Education" it examines the potential for increasing the participation rates of "certain well defined groups" who are inhibited by certain circumstances in taking

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3. Vaizey, J. "Higher Education Planning" in Higher Education and the Current Crisis, edited by Burns, Barbara B. International Council for Educational Development, New York 1975, cited in Batt. The College in the Region, p.30.

4. Birrell, Robert J. "Some Demographic and Economic Restraints", in The Future of Higher Education in Australia, edited by Hore, Terry., Linke, Russel D., and West, Leo H. T. Higher Education Advisory and Research Unit, Monash University and Individual Contributors, 1978, p.18.

their education further, or who are unaware of the possibilities of continuing education after school. These include aboriginal people, some migrant groups, country people, women, and lower socio-economic groups. It assumes that, as more of these groups complete secondary education and as "other barriers to access" are removed, enrolments can be expected to continue to rise. This "steady state of growth" can be encouraged by schemes of recurrent education for upgrading and updating learning.<sup>5</sup> The Report went so far as to attempt an estimate of the likely growth rates of enrolments by "older persons". It pointed out that "if, for example, the participation of older person were to move at an annual rate of 1% above the movement in the 20 to 40 age group, there would be a 17% increase in enrolments in higher education in South Australia by 1988 and a 30% increase by 2000".<sup>6</sup>

The Western Australian and Victorian Reports, particularly the latter, tend to be much more cautious. The former felt that access for the mature age student could be improved and extended in country areas either through community colleges or "extra mural teaching".<sup>7</sup> It did not make any attempt to project likely enrolment rates should such provisions be extended. The Victorian report noted that the majority of entrants to tertiary courses are drawn from the preceding year's sixth form and that "an appreciable minority come by way of the tertiary orientation year of TAFE colleges and 'other' sources". It defined the "other" sources as "probably ... people who have worked for some time after completing a higher school certificate year or who have completed an adult matriculation or who have moved to Victoria from overseas or interstate". It firmly concluded that: "In any event, sources of

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5. The Anderson Report. p.19.

6. Ibid. p.172.

7. The W.A. Report. pp.27-28.

students other than the secondary stream are not likely to present circumstances to be large enough to have a major influence on the post-secondary situation in this state".<sup>8</sup>

The TAFE sector is generally regarded as more certain of enjoying a steady growth of enrolments particularly as it is less dependent on students from the secondary school sector. The Williams Report for example noted that although 63% of TAFE enrolments (in streams 1 to 4) are from the 17-29 age group, the respective proportion in the case of universities and C.A.E.s is over 80%.<sup>9</sup>

The steady rise of enrolments by women in all sectors of post-secondary education demands special note. In 1967, 18.7% of all university enrolments were female. By 1977 the figure was 38.8%, and 42.7% for all new students. Corresponding figures for 1977 for the C.A.E.s were 47.4% (and 50.4% of full time equivalent students) and in the case of the TAFE sector, 44.7%, although three quarters of these were in adult education courses (stream 6). The Report noted that though substantial increases in female participation has occurred in the last ten years, only a small percentage enrol in the sciences, applied sciences, technologies, and in the case of TAFE institutions in 1976, less than 5% enrolled in trades courses.<sup>10</sup>

The general increase in female enrolments does pose a serious management problem for the whole post secondary sector if this trend is to be encouraged. Treyvaud and McLaren have noted that in the C.A.E.s sector, females provide most of the enrolments in teacher education, creative arts and liberal and para-medical studies - "fields which have the greatest growth in recent years". They noted that in 1976 there was a strong possibility of reduced growth in teacher education programmes

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<sup>8</sup> The Victorian Report, Ch. 3, p2.

<sup>9</sup> The Williams Report. See Footnote to Table: "Post-secondary Participation Rates by Sector and by Level of Course (1977)", p27.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. pp. 507-508.

and the possibilities of a cautious approach being maintained to the extended provision of liberal as opposed to vocationally based courses.<sup>11</sup> C.A.E. s specialising in teacher education programmes where enrolments are declining would find it difficult to develop new courses because of inflexibility within the C.A.E. system. As an example they argued that excess staff in teacher training cannot be quickly retrained at a sufficiently high level to take responsibility for new courses. Nor could colleges afford to employ further staff given the need for economic restraint at the national level.<sup>12</sup>

This problem has tended not to be examined in terms of the effects it could have on patterns on enrolments, particularly for women, but more in terms of a threat to the economic viability of some institutions.<sup>13</sup>

#### The Problem of "Middle-Level" Provision

The Williams Report stated that "perhaps the biggest remaining problems of rationalisation rise from demographic changes and the emergence of excess capacity in teacher education and the new incentive in some colleges to expand U.G. 3 courses in the middle-level where TAFE has expanded rapidly in recent years".<sup>14</sup> Middle-level programmes are para-professional courses referred to as stream two in TAFE and associate diplomas (U.G. 3 courses) in the C.A.E. sector.

Harman, Richardson and Woodburne point out that higher education in Australia "has been split into two narrowing camps, on the one hand, the universities, which are rapidly shedding all sub-degree work, and on the other hand the colleges of advanced education which do not provide sub-tertiary courses". With the development of the C.A.E. sector technical colleges "were stripped of most of there tertiary courses

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11. Treyvaud, E. R. and McLaren, John. Equal But Cheaper (The Development of Australian Colleges of Advanced Education), Melbourne University Press, 1976, p.60.

12. Ibid. p.57.

13. See particularly The W.A. Report, The Victorian Report and The Anderson Report.

14. The Williams Report. p. 250.

and fearful of losing what tertiary courses they still retain".

They quote the third report of the Commission of Advanced Education (page 21) which stated that in its belief tertiary education "should be given in institutions that are clearly tertiary in character .." and point out that New South Wales did not accept this. The Department of Technical Education introduced U.G. 3 courses supported by the New South Wales Advanced Education Board (1972). The authors believe there is a sound argument for retaining or developing advanced technician courses within the further education sector given the tendency of C.A.E.s to concentrate on degree and post-graduate work.<sup>15</sup>

In fairness to the C.A.E. sector it must be noted that the Commonwealth policy of fully funding tertiary education only has encouraged many colleges to abandon sub-tertiary work. Batt, in his study of regional colleges, argues that state co-ordination authorities have also tended to be concerned purely with tertiary courses, but notes that there is a continuing interest in sub-tertiary work among colleges. He maintains that "at least some colleges would welcome the opportunity to engage in lower level studies. The possible benefits to the colleges would be increased enrolments, and better utilization of staff, buildings and facilities."<sup>16</sup>

The Victorian Report observed that "the developments in technical and further education have been encouraged by the educational gap created as the former senior technical colleges moved towards tertiary status...and progressively withdrew from sub-tertiary fields".<sup>17</sup>

Victoria is a good indication of the growing problems of overlap between TAFE colleges and some of the programmes offered by smaller, including

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<sup>15</sup> Harman, G.D., Richardson, E., Woodburne, G.J., Trade and Technician Education: Principles and Issues, Cassell, Australia, 1976, p65.

<sup>16</sup> Batt. The College in the Region, p25.

<sup>17</sup> The Victorian Report, Ch. 2, p2.



regional, colleges of advanced education. As the most industrialized of the Australian states, it inevitably portrays the problems of developing para-professional vocational courses. The Report noted, for example, that C.A.E s with declining enrolments in engineering were suggesting the establishment of sub-professional engineering courses (U.G. 3 associate diplomas) which would appear to differ a little from the "successful certificate of technology courses of TAFE colleges". The Partridge Committee decided that "resolution of the difficulty by agreement between the two systems seemed unlikely and action by an independent authority would probably be necessary".<sup>18</sup> The committee finally recommended the establishment of the Victorian Post-Secondary Education Commission with, amongst other things, the responsibility of giving "early attention to problems regarding the development of middle level U.G. 3 courses, and recommended that no further courses of such kind in either sector should be approved until problems are examined further".<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps another factor inhibiting the attractiveness of undertaking middle level programmes in TAFE institutions is the unwillingness of many "brighter" students to view them as alternatives to C.A.E s. Brian Hortle believes that "one of the real issues in the educational scenes in Tasmania is the low status we give to the technical, vocational and skilled training areas. This image is transmitted to students who prefer to do level 3 higher school certificate subjects and fail rather than choose skill-oriented courses and succeed; to parents who encourage their children to "matriculate" regardless of vocation or motivation; to employers and staffing offices in government, business and industry who prefer to set entry standards of H.S.C. or "matriculation" rather than honestly decide what educational qualities are desirable for their

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid. Ch. 3, p12.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. Ch. 8, p1.

jobs or profession; to conservative academics in universities, schools and colleges who mercilessly force all to bow educationally to the needs of the academically elite; to the members of School Board committees who can dismiss the needs of 70% of students who seek certification and write disparagingly of prevocational and skill-oriented subjects".<sup>20</sup>

Maybe the status argument and the tendency for most secondary education students to seek their matriculation within the secondary rather than the further education sector discourages many young students from considering technical or TAFE colleges as suitable institutions for pursuing their education up to at least the level of para-professional training. What little evidence there is suggests that it is mainly the trades stream (stream 3) which attracts younger students - the very area of TAFE which some expect to decline.<sup>21</sup>

#### The Problem of Access

The problem of widening access to post-secondary education in Australia is receiving considerable attention. In 1976 Dennison noted that there are approximately 500 institutions of post-secondary education in Australia and that this amounts to a greater number of institutions on a per capita basis than exists in the United States. Despite this, Australia still has a lower participation rate.<sup>22</sup> D.P. Armstrong, making a similar point, has commented that, although allowances must be made for special geographical problems evident in the distribution of population in Australia, "it might be argued that Australian students would be better served by having somewhat fewer institutions of greater average size and offering a more comprehensive spread of activities."<sup>23</sup>

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20. Hortle, B.A. Some Impressions of Upper Secondary Education Overseas. Paper given to the Southern Members of the Tasmanian Chapter of the Australian College of Education, 24 August 1976.

21. Anderson Report. p.20. See also Anderson and others. Communities and Colleges, pp.117-120 and statistical information in TAFE in Australia: Report on Needs in Technical and Further Education, Vol.2: Appendices, April 1974, pp.149-152.

22. Dennison, Professor John. "The Concept of the Community College", in Lifelong Education and Poor People: Three Studies.

23. Armstrong, D.P. Higher Education in Australia. Problems and Possibilities, A.B.C. Guest of Honour Programme, 20 March 1977, cited by King, R.R. "Institutional Reactions" in The Future of Higher Education in Australia, edited by Hore and others, p. 71.

The Anderson Report refers to barriers of access to post-secondary education in South Australia which include "poor outcomes of compulsory schooling, economic hardship, location of residence, and a range of other social factors all of which result in lower levels of aspiration. There is often a lack of information concerning the range of services, financial support and employment opportunities".<sup>24</sup>

The Anderson Committee held discussions with the Department of Transport of South Australia regarding the location of colleges in relation to present and projected transportation systems. It acknowledged that "most students live at some distance from their campus and commute daily either by car or by public transport". The outcome was that the Department of Transport prepared a special report.<sup>25</sup> Except indirectly, when considering the problems of isolated areas, no other report gave serious consideration to the question of commuting distance as an access barrier to post-secondary education - a matter of some significance in the development of American community colleges.

The Williams Report with its national perspective believes that through the process of "contracting" courses much could be done "to overcome locational barriers to education". C.A.E.s that are under-utilised could "contract" to take on TAFE courses, and TAFE institutions particularly in isolated areas could diversify by "contracting" to conduct advanced education or even university degree level courses. The process could also be encouraged by the development of study centre facilities and external studies.<sup>26</sup>

The Report saw the barriers to participation in TAFE courses as mainly educational, psychological and geographic. Educational barriers, i.e. limited educational attainment, could best be met by modifications of

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24. Anderson Report. p.119.

25. Anderson Report. p.173.

26. The Williams Report. pp.274-275.

normal entrance requirements and the provision of bridging and remedial programmes; psychological barriers by adjusting formal education to permit alternative forms of TAFE programmes to be offered in non-institutional settings; and geographical barriers by establishing student hostels to serve one or more technical colleges and the extension and the improvement of external studies. TAFE could help in this process by increasing its range of modular courses from which students might select according to needs.<sup>27</sup>

There is general agreement that isolated areas pose special problems in Australia. The Williams Committee, when reviewing community college proposals for isolated areas, commented that these involve requests for the creation of a new institution, while it felt that "the contracting procedures proposed ... can operate as they have already operated, to make institutions multi-sectoral without changing their institutional forms". It conceded however that "there are occasions ... where the existence of sectors may cause difficult problems in towns that are not large enough to justify specialised institutions".<sup>28</sup> When comparing the distribution of post-secondary educational provision in Western Australia with Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria, the W.A. Report pointed out that "most of the non-metropolitan institutions in the three States mentioned draw upon catchment areas generally greater than any tertiary institution established in a non-metropolitan centre in W.A. Moreover, some of the institutions in other states have grown exceedingly slowly, and have not reached the minimum size that is desirable for a thriving tertiary institution". It concluded that "W.A. would be wise to take the opportunity it has to examine alternative ways of promoting post-secondary education in the more distant and less popular parts of the State, rather than commit itself to the creation of

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27. Ibid. p.318.

28. Ibid. p.320.

the conventional types of institutions which may encounter severe difficulties in growing to a viable size".<sup>29</sup>

### The Need for Flexibility

Three broad significant problems seem to bedevil Australian post-secondary education whenever attempts are made to make it more flexible - sharp distinctions between the three sectors; problems of salary scales, work loads and working conditions for the respective sectors; and the absence of a well-developed credit transfer system between institutions and between sectors.

Treyvaud and McLaren have argued that the provision until 1973 of matching grants by the Commonwealth and state governments had five adverse effects on the development of a tertiary education system:-

1. The lack of planning by the states and the Commonwealth when the first grants were made perpetuated the existence of a multiplicity of small colleges, particularly in Victoria.
2. The decision to finance only the tertiary component of the C.A.E.s led to a shedding by many colleges of their non-tertiary activities. This reduced the viability of several colleges and left a gap in the post-secondary education system which must now be filled by colleges of technical and further education.
3. The concept of vocational education based on a narrow economic interpretation of the purpose of education and a lack of investigation of social needs prevented the development of a diversity of courses suited to the needs of students with a wide band of interests and abilities.
4. The decision not to finance the teachers college until 1973 and the establishment of a 3-part system of higher education

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<sup>29</sup> The W.A. Report. p.30.

based on the artificial comparisons between institutions lead to an uncoordinated development of a post-secondary educational system.

5. The incursion of the Australian government through the use of special purpose grants under the power given by section 96 of the Constitution led to a diminution and dispersion of state authority and further centralisation of power in Canberra.<sup>30</sup>

Kevin Batt has noted that regional colleges sometimes experience a dilemma in their aim of providing "a competence and qualification that will be accepted not only in the region but throughout Australia and even internationally". He refers to the argument of David Smith that "over the last twenty years there has been little consideration given to nature and needs of regions, and non-metropolitan tertiary education has not usually been seen as a special problem requiring its own solution. The result has been the same structures have been used for city and country and the same criteria of viability applied.

Batt points out that one of the reasons for this is that courses need to be approved by state and national bodies and that this has promoted conformity and inhibited experiment. Inevitably regional colleges have wanted to establish reputations in major courses for which they were receiving government funding. There may have been greater innovation had funding been to institutions rather than for courses. The situation became exacerbated once C.A.E.s were permitted to award degrees. Regional colleges had to offer degrees in order not to downgrade their service to the regions. Some even felt it necessary to establish national reputations by developing fairly unique courses that would attract students from outside the region.<sup>31</sup>

The differences in salaries and working conditions of the

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30. Treyvaud and McLaren. Equal But Cheaper, pp.53-54.

31. Batt. The College in the Region, pp.87-89.

teaching staff in the three sectors of post-secondary education is regarded by many as a major barrier to the formation of multi-level or multi-sectoral institutions, particularly in isolated rural areas where there is more agreement on the need for them.

The TAFE Commission has spoken of the need for a "coherent structure for salaries and conditions of staff within each institution. The resolution of this issue is a necessary pre-condition for establishing multi-level institutions with a corporate identity of their own".<sup>32</sup> Similar points have been made by Dr. Grant Harman<sup>33</sup> and Anderson and others in their studies of the problems of developing a community college at Darwin.<sup>34</sup> The same study also drew attention to the problems of status rivalries which are reinforced by sectoral differences.<sup>35, 36.</sup>

The Williams Report noted that the problems of credits and credit transfers were recognised by the Committee on Open University which proposed the creation of a National Institution of Open Tertiary Education, but did not accept that this is the only or necessarily the preferred solution. It argued that much could be done within the present structure of advanced education but admits there could be some problems. For example it is more difficult to arrange credit transfers in some vocational courses than in others, and is more difficult in states where the award is granted by the institution rather than the state authority.<sup>37</sup>

Volume I of the 1974 TAFE Report drew attention to the fact that TAFE students "often face problems of access to other institutions

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32. Technical and Further Education Commission. Report for the Triennium 1977-1979, pp. XXXIII - XXXIV.

33. Harman. Paper given to the Conference on The Community College in Australia?

34. Anderson and others. Communities and Colleges, pp. 107-108.

35. Ibid. pp. 108-109.

36. Selby Smith, Chris. "Non-Metropolitan Colleges of Advanced Education in Australia", in Education Research and Perspectives, 3, 1, June 1976, pp. 3-17.

37. The Williams Report. p. 275.

because of the general absence of credits for completed study. Tertiary institutions in the U.S.A. and in Canada, and to a lesser extent in the U.K., appear more ready to give credit to particular individuals for work undertaken elsewhere. It is a matter of regret that such credit is less readily given to individuals in Australia".<sup>38</sup>

The Williams Report tended to see the solution as lying at the state level. It recommended the state authorities seek to extend the range of educational opportunities through the "planned integration of external studies programmes with other modes of study undertaken in educational institutions in the three sectors". It also recommended that these authorities, in co-operation with the institutions concerned and with the Australian Council for Academic Awards in Advanced Education, "actively promote the granting of awards on the basis of credits earned in more than one institution". Finally where provision does not exist in state legislation it was recommended that consideration be given to a provision for the granting of awards by state authorities on the basis of credits earned in more than one institution. It is interesting to note that the Williams Report tended to concentrate on the advanced education sector when discussing ways of improving credit transfers. By implication he was looking at the interchange of credit arrangements mainly between colleges of advanced education and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the interchange of credits between institutions within different sectors.<sup>39</sup>

The Anderson Report did give some attention to the facilitation of credit transfers. It argued that the proposed co-ordinating authority for South Australia - the Tertiary Education Authority - should not direct institutions to adjust courses or to admit students for certain qualifications but should be "facilitative". In other words it should use

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<sup>38</sup> TAFE in Australia. Report on Needs in Technical and Further Education.  
Volume 1: Report, A.G.P.S. Canberra, April 1974 (known as  
"The Kangan Report"), pp. 19-20.

<sup>39</sup> The Williams Report. pp. 275-276.



moral persuasion by drawing attention to "deficiencies" in such arrangements. Clearly the committee was reluctant to suggest powers for the co-ordinating authority which would permit interference in the internal affairs of post-secondary institutions.<sup>40</sup>

Both Dennison and Harman have drawn attention to the absence of a strong tradition in Australia of student transfers with full credit during a course, similar to the academic transfer arrangements between American community colleges and degree-granting higher education institutions. Dennison points out that American community college transfer programmes are normally of generalist nature providing the first two years of liberal arts required of most American university degree programmes. Australian university students normally commence "a professional programme in their first year".<sup>41</sup> Harman argues that the Australian three year pass degrees in arts and sciences do not lend themselves easily to the transfer plan. He points to the fact that American bachelor degrees are normally four years in duration.<sup>42</sup>

The difficulties in developing a more flexible or higher education system, given the nature of Australian degrees is explored in more depth further on, however it may be worth speculating that the existence of early specialisation in degrees at the bachelor level in Australia compared with United States may make it very difficult to develop generalist curricula for introductory courses of study that can be taken by non-academic as well as academic students. Clark, in his study of "The Open Door College", referred to this kind of curriculum as "dual purpose" with courses that satisfy both transfer and terminal requirements.<sup>43</sup> Presumably the development of academic transfer programmes

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<sup>40</sup> The Anderson Report, p26.

<sup>41</sup> Dennison. Lifelong Education and Poor People, p60.

<sup>42</sup> Harman. Paper given to the Conference on The Community College in Australia?

<sup>43</sup> Clark, Burton R. The Open Door College.

in Australia with their less generalist bias may well involve multi-sectoral institutions or community colleges becoming even more subordinate to other higher educational institutions than has been the case with American community colleges, particularly before the introduction of state master planning. Universities and C.A.E.s could lay down very strict guidelines on course content, staff qualifications and the level of community college facilities, particularly library facilities, before they would agree to co-operate.

#### The Need for Co-ordination and Planning

Anderson has listed several arguments for increased co-ordination in the C.A.E. sector. (Given the large number of institutions, decisions about allocation of funds cannot be left for each institution to decide for itself). Many C.A.E.s are also small and co-ordination is required to achieve some degree of rationalisation particularly where there is doubt about the educational and economic viability of colleges. Public expenditure on education is rising and there is a need to ensure an efficient allocation of funds. Co-ordination helps to ensure that adequate numbers of student places are provided in different kinds of institutions and in different schools and departments across the country. Diversity in itself tends to necessitate some degree of central co-ordination and planning. Finally, co-ordination is needed to help promote a high degree of flexibility for individual students and institutions, and to make the best use of limited resources.<sup>44</sup> Kevin Batt has also made the point that co-ordination at the state level would help regional colleges to enlarge their programmes to include studies other than those normally approved as advanced education courses.<sup>45</sup> By implication co-ordination at the state level is necessary for the diversification of any post-secondary institution, in the TAFE as well as the C.A.E sectors, and therefore,

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<sup>44</sup> Anderson and others. Regional Colleges, pp.354-356.

<sup>45</sup> Batt. The College in the Region, pp.35-36.

for the development of comprehensive post-secondary community colleges.

The Martin Report in 1964 tried to encourage greater co-ordination of higher education at the State and Commonwealth levels. It advocated the formation of an Australian Tertiary Education Commission to help co-ordinate the university and proposed new C.A.E. sector.<sup>46</sup> Dennison argued later that "the broad educational needs of the community can best be served by close co-operation and joint planning of the roles of the institutions". He recommended the formation of a single "Commission on Tertiary Education" combining the Australian Universities Commission, the Commission on Advanced Education and the Technical and Further Education Commission. He felt such a move would also encourage states to "ensure co-operative planning ..... to the future development of post-secondary educational services".<sup>47</sup> The decision in 1977 to form the Tertiary Education Commission of Australia appears to have had that effect.<sup>48</sup> These developments are seen as essential for increasing the flexibility of the whole post-secondary educational system, and, in particular, for the development of multi-sectoral institutions in isolated areas. The Williams Report for example felt it necessary to draw to the attention of the N.S.W. and Queensland Governments, where state co-ordinative machinery has yet to be introduced, that co-ordination is essential if development of middle-level courses in TAFE colleges and C.A.E.s is to be efficiently promoted.<sup>49</sup>

Western Australia anticipated the formation of the Tertiary Education Commission in 1976, and felt that the Commission would find the problems of rationalizing and co-ordinating post-secondary education throughout Australia very intricate. It felt that there was a need for the states to have their own co-ordinative machinery, and argued "our

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46 The Report of the Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia. (known as "The Martin Report"), A.G.P.S., 1964, p171, cited in Meyer, California Community Colleges, p32.

47 Dennison, Lifelong Education and Poor People, pp. 59-60.

48 Williams Report. p249.

49 Ibid. p330.

view is that well-constituted and well-staffed state co-ordinative authorities should have a strong central role to play in helping the Commonwealth funding authorities to discharge their functions more efficiently, more sensitively, and thus with greater satisfaction to the states, as well as in helping to guide and shape the state post-secondary education system".<sup>50</sup> Similar arguments were presented in support of proposals to set up co-ordinating authorities in Victoria<sup>51</sup> and South Australia.<sup>52</sup>

Of all the major reports in recent years on post-secondary education, only the Anderson Report of South Australia makes specific mention of support for the idea of "a master plan for the development of tertiary education as a whole, within which each sector and institution may develop".<sup>53</sup> Although this function is implied in the list of responsibilities for co-ordinating authorities in all the other states, the role of planning as opposed to co-ordinating, is not given special attention. It is interesting to note that a major responsibility of the Californian Post-Secondary Education Commission when formed was to prepare a five year Master Plan to cover the period 1976 to 1981.<sup>54</sup> It remains to be seen whether Australian state master plans will be developed which will help to assign "partnership status" between all institutions in post-secondary education - a development that has helped raise the confidence and status of American community colleges in their relations with other higher educational institutions.<sup>55</sup>

#### The Relevance of the North-American Community College as a Model

In 1972 Partridge felt that the American community college concept could not be easily adopted in the Australian situation, but he was interested in some of the roles that community colleges had performed within the

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50. The W.A. Report. pp.33-34

51. The Victorian Report. Ch.9, p.9.

52. The Anderson Report. p.26.

53. The Anderson Report. p.171.

54. A Five-Year Plan for Post-Secondary Education in California 1976-1981,  
p.11.

55. Gleazer. "New Mandate for Co-ordination" New Directions for Community Colleges.

American higher education context. By implication, he was hoping that these roles could be performed by similar though not necessarily the same kinds of institutions in Australia. He felt that American community colleges illustrate the "openness" of the American system of tertiary education, and the "comparative absence of firm and virtually impassable lines drawn between separate sectors for divisions of the tertiary structure" - almost the opposite of the situation that prevails in Australian higher education. He noted that it is not easy to conceive of institutions existing in Australia in which "terminal" and "transfer" two-year students are working side by side. Finally he made the observation that community colleges seem to be flourishing and multiplying in the United States and other countries such as Japan and that they "have not been made abortive by anxieties about status".<sup>56</sup>

In 1976 Selby Smith, when comparing the C.A.E.s with American community colleges, argued for the development of a limited number of community college aspects in Australian colleges rather than the U.S. model in toto. Those aspects mentioned the most frequently included the "capacity to respond rapidly to changing community needs; multi-level programmes, including short term and bridging courses and adult education programmes generally; the availability of machinery to facilitate transfers for students throughout post-secondary education; and a better mixture of younger and older adults in the population of the colleges".<sup>57</sup>

The Anderson Report listed the following advantages claimed for multi-level institutions of "community colleges":-

1. The full spectrum of studies facilitates the granting of credit for previously completed work.
2. Students uncertain of abilities and aptitudes can move laterally or vertically into a more suitable course.

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<sup>56</sup> Partridge. Australian Higher Education, pp.172-173.

<sup>57</sup> Selby Smith. Education Research and Perspectives, p14.

3. Institutions are more responsive to, and elicit a greater involvement from their local communities.<sup>58</sup>

In general however the main interest in developing community colleges similar to the North American model is that it would be a practical mechanism for developing comprehensive post-secondary education services in the more isolated areas. For example, Selby Smith states:-  
 "The division of post-secondary education into distinct sectors may be particularly inappropriate for many country centres. There is a real role for institutions responding flexibly to local needs and providing a mixture of tertiary and sub-tertiary courses appropriate for that region, coupled where required with non-vocational courses and improved facilities for external study".<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> The Anderson Report. p145.

<sup>59</sup> Selby Smith, loc.cit.

## CHAPTER 22

### CAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE SYSTEMS DEVELOP IN AUSTRALIA?

#### Introduction

The preconditions for the development of comprehensive adult-oriented community colleges have already been outlined. They can be summarised as follows:-

1. The existence of universal comprehensive secondary education.
2. A strong public demand for greater and more varied forms of access to post-compulsory education.
3. The need for the development of technical and vocational para-professional education.
4. Concern for making education more "relevant" to the "needs" of a "community".
5. Acceptance of education as a lifelong process.
6. Co-ordination and planning of post-secondary education as a system.

#### First Precondition

Using Hopper's terminology, universal comprehensive secondary education as a precondition of the development of adult-oriented community colleges should be characterised as "having a low degree of formal differentiation and specialisation of routes and a meritocratic ideology of selection". In other words there should be evidence of a considerable degree of deferral, until quite late, of the point at which children are selected, trained, and guided to their future occupational roles, and that, when made, it should be viewed as a reward for talents, ambition, and technical skills rather than on the basis of "diffused skills and ascribed characteristics".

Dennison, writing in 1974, compared the Canadian high school situation where external examination systems had been abolished with the situation in Australian high schools where students are prepared for

Higher School Certificate (H.S.C.) examinations. He noted that "higher schools in Canada, freed of the effect of an external examination system have introduced courses and programmes which are of considerable relevance to students at the local level. In the long run, these changes have encouraged more pupils to stay in school to the grade 12 year and also eliminated the depressing consequences of placing students in "academic" and "non-academic" streams. Hence, as more students graduate from high school, a higher proportion continue into some form of post-secondary education. This phenomenon has long been a goal of the comprehensive high school". He assumed that similar pressures will eventually encourage more Australian high schools to eliminate H.S.C. examinations as a means of evaluation.<sup>1</sup> Hortle has made similar comments when comparing Canadian with Tasmanian high schools. He argues that the purpose of the Canadian system "is to educate and train students for life whether the immediate future be a vocation or further education in another educational institution". He felt there was "a genuine feeling that the 'academic' subjects and prevocational skill subjects had the same status, unlike Tasmania where the Schools Board positively enforces an inferior status for 'non-academic' education at H.S.C. level".<sup>2</sup>

By 1978 McArthur reported that state-wide certificate examinations at the 10th and 11th year of secondary school level had been phased out, and that the Higher School Certificate taken in the 12th year was in a state of decline. As contributing factors he suggested that with the development of the C.A.E. sector the universities were no longer the main suppliers of tertiary educational opportunities, secondary teachers

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<sup>1</sup> Dennison. Lifelong Education and Poor People, p.62.

<sup>2</sup> Hortle. Some Impressions of Upper Secondary Education Overseas.



were demanding much greater control over curriculum content, secondary school principals and senior teachers were more likely to be younger than they were previously, and finally principals were less likely to accept suggestions that their function is to prepare secondary school students for university entrance only. The overall effect of this situation is a general freeing from much of the former prescriptiveness and predictability of state-wide curricula and a switch from vocational to general education as a charter of secondary schooling.<sup>3</sup> The TEND Report noted that several other educational authorities in Australia had moved away from the kind of procedure that is still retained in Tasmania - namely evaluation of the 12th year of high school through performance in the Higher School Certificate. The Report suggested that Tasmania should modify the influence of this examination system and consider adopting the pattern in the Australian Capital Territory where the secondary colleges for 11 and 12 devise their own courses and assessment procedures with the approval of the Territory's accrediting agency, and, for matriculation purposes, the Australian National University.<sup>4</sup> The TEND report attracted the interest of the Williams Committee which endorsed its position that there was evidence of failure on the part of secondary education to adapt curricula sufficiently to increase retention rates in the 11th and 12th years.<sup>5</sup>

McArthur pointed out that one of the potential effects of this situation is that tertiary course designers and lecturers will no longer be able to assume that first year students have covered a prescribed body of knowledge at a standardised level of achievement. There would need to be bridging courses to equip first year students to proceed to further

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<sup>3</sup> McArthur, John T. "Some Trends in Secondary Education", in The Future of Higher Education in Australia, edited by Hore T., Linke, Russell, D., and West, Leo H.T., Higher Education Advisory and Research Unit, Monash University and Individual Contributors, 1978, p32.

<sup>4</sup> The TEND Report, p31.

<sup>5</sup> The Williams Report, pp.110-111.

studies in many disciplines. He also warned that "tertiary lecturers may need to vary their teaching styles to meet the needs of new and different clientele".<sup>6</sup> To summarise, there appears to be a strong move in Australia away from the evaluation of upper levels of secondary education controlled examination, unlike England where the "A" level barrier is still a hotly debated issue. Selection, training and guiding into future occupational roles would appear to be increasingly deferred until after the 12th year of secondary education. Broad generalist curricula is being seen as more important than high level academic specialist courses aimed at satisfying the requirements of university dominated H.S.C. examinations. Using Hoppers terms, Australian secondary education is increasingly showing "a low degree of formal differentiation and specialisation of routes". The first precondition for the development of comprehensive community colleges in Australia would appear to be substantially met therefore.

Hopper classified Australian formal compulsory education as "having a medium degree of centralisation and standardisation of the total selection process, a medium degree of early formal differentiation and specialisation of educational routes, and primarily meritocratic ideology."<sup>7</sup> Many would disagree with his classification of the level of centralisation as "medium", particularly if examined at state rather than the national levels.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> McArthur. The Future of Higher Education in Australia. pp. 37-38.

<sup>7</sup> Hopper. "A Typology for the Classification of Educational Systems," Sociology Vol 2, 1968. The Classification of Australian Education is implied in the diagram on p37.

<sup>8</sup> Walker, W.G. "Administrative Structure: Centralization or Decentralization" in Designing a New Education Authority, edited by Harman, G.S., and Selby Smith, C., Occasional Report No. 2, Education Research Unit, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, 1973, pp. 213-214.

On the question of Australia's educational ideology the report "Schools in Australia" states that:- "Equality of opportunity has been an important social goal which, in Australia, schools have been given a major responsibility for achieving. In general, it could be said that equality has been interpreted as equal access to schools of roughly equal standards, and that opportunity has centred on the possibility of prolonged schooling culminating in entry into tertiary education institutions with a consequent claim on higher incomes".<sup>9</sup>

Australia, like England and the United States is still grappling with what Beswick calls "the second phase of the concern for equality of educational opportunity, namely that sociological evidence suggests that the capacity of a child to benefit from schooling depends more on the home than on the school". However, as regards the first phase, the provision of equal facilities to all groups and regions, he argues that "the state systems in Australia have been more successful in this respect than state education in Britain, Europe or North America in that state children in the remotest towns or in the poorest suburbs have experienced a common curriculum comparably trained teachers and similar buildings and equipment to children in the better-off suburban areas".<sup>10</sup>

Australia has made strong efforts to equalise educational opportunities through its public educational sector. To conclude, therefore, it would appear that Australia substantially satisfies all aspects of the first precondition for the development of community colleges.

#### Second Precondition

The second precondition is that there be evidence of strong public demand for greater and more varied forms of access to post-compulsory education, which is reinforced by a wide acceptance that the principle of equality of educational opportunities for all should

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<sup>9</sup> Schools in Australia. Report of the Interior Committee for the Australian Schools Commission, A.G.P.S. Canberra, 1973, p.16.

<sup>10</sup> Beswick, D.G. "Human Relations and Learning" in Designing a New Education Authority, pp.26-27.

apply in higher education as well as in the compulsory public sectors of education. Another way of looking at this is that there should be evidence of a movement from elite to mass and subsequently, even to universal higher education.

Meyer noted that the Martin Report recommended that higher education be available to "all citizens according to inclination and capacity".<sup>11</sup> At the time it could be argued there was definite evidence of a strong public demand for higher education and that there was a concern to respond to that demand. As already indicated, there is evidence that enrolments from 12th year secondary schooling into higher education are stabilising and could possibly decline in the next few years. The most immediate effect of this situation is a concern for excess supply of trained teachers. In a sense, this situation helps to indicate the strength of commitment in Australia to the proposal that higher education should be available to all citizens according to their inclination and capacity. For example, despite obvious evidence of rising costs and inevitable limiting of state funds caused by competition by other state services, the Californian Post-Secondary Education Commission in its five year plan for 1976 to 1981 boldly stated as its first assumption that "California will continue a wide diversity of educational programmes in the public sector ..." It also reaffirmed support both educationally and financially for the economically and culturally underprivileged.<sup>12</sup>

The W.A. and Victorian Reports tended to be cautious when examining ways of increasing access except in the special case of geographically isolated areas. Concern was expressed in the W.A. Report that if trends continue too great a proportion of secondary school leavers might be proceeding directly to Universities or colleges of advanced education.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Meyer. California Community Colleges, p31.

<sup>12</sup> A Five Year Plan for Post-Secondary Education in California 1976-1981, pp.20-21.

<sup>13</sup> The W.A. Report, p19.

The Victorian Report argued in the same vein and added that in its opinion the "growth of tertiary institutions and courses has outstripped the ability of the community to absorb higher level education and that this seems likely to be a long-term phenomenon. Indeed the current move towards enhanced support for technical education is evidence of community perception of this situation".<sup>14</sup>

The Williams Report, despite a section entitled "Access to Education", concentrates on past and present patterns of post-secondary enrolments, but there is little attempt made to examine the implication of likely future changes in these patterns.<sup>15</sup> In general it supports an extension of educational opportunities, particularly for isolated areas, but it appears to be more concerned with making the post-secondary educational system as a whole more flexible and efficient. In the university sector, efficiency in part means the relating of undergraduate entry "more closely to the statistical probability of success in degree studies ..." It recommends that growth in general "should be related to the prospective growth in GDP and that most of the projected expansion in numbers based on an assumed 2% annual growth rate in productivity should be accommodated in the C.A.E.s and TAFE colleges". The overriding conclusion of the Williams Report was that for the next twenty years the "problems of rationalisation and co-ordination will become more important than growth itself".<sup>16</sup> The only area in which it gave serious attention to ways of actually increasing interest and enrolments in post-secondary education, irrespective of geographical location, was the issue of raising retention rates in the upper years of secondary school education.<sup>17</sup>

Of all the major reports in recent years, only the Anderson report of S.A. gave attention to the possibility of increasing enrolments

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<sup>14</sup> The Victorian Report, Ch.3, p7.

<sup>15</sup> The Williams Report, see Ch.11.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. Letter to the Prime Minister 28 February 1979, pp.III-V.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p86.

in post-secondary education of students other than those straight from secondary school. It could be argued therefore that this report implicitly has a greater commitment to promoting mass higher education.<sup>18</sup> The Victorian Report, for example, went so far as to boldly state that "sources of students other than the secondary stream are not likely to present circumstances to be large enough to have a major influence on the post-secondary situation in this state".<sup>19</sup>

It appears that the TAFE and to some extent C.A.E.s sectors are expected to cater for an increased demand for post-secondary education, particularly of a vocational nature. As already indicated most of the major reports are concerned to protect universities from "poor quality" students. Even if this were not the case, others have argued that Australian universities in general would not be prepared to "explore significant changes in their traditional modus operandi".<sup>20</sup>

In 1972 Partridge argued that the underlying assumption behind the recommendation of the Martin Report to create the C.A.E. sector was that there are many students entering universities who should be elsewhere, either because their motivations and interests do not properly fit them for university studies or because they do not have the capacity to meet what ought to be the intellectual requirements of university work.<sup>21</sup> In effect Partridge was advocating the development of a higher educational institution which would carry out a "cooling-out" function similar to that of the community colleges of the U.S.<sup>22</sup> As it turned out, the C.A.E. sector, with the exception of a few insitutions,<sup>23</sup> tended to emulate the

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<sup>18</sup> See, for example, p121 of The Anderson Report.

<sup>19</sup> The Victorian Report. Ch.3, p2.

<sup>20</sup> Dennison. Lifelong Education and Poor People, p60. See also Schuller, Tom. "Land of Committees wrestles with Tertiary Problems", T.H.E.S., 16 December 1977, p11.

<sup>21</sup> Partridge. Australian Higher Education, p174.

<sup>22</sup> Clark. The Open Door College.

<sup>23</sup> Batt. The College in the Region, p25.

university sector as regards entry requirements, course levels, sources of students, awards, academic rank salaries and working conditions.<sup>24</sup> Attention has therefore turned to the TAFE colleges, and perhaps some C.A.E.s wishing to take on TAFE courses, as the institutions to handle the bulk of post-secondary enrolments particularly for courses below degree and post-graduate levels.

The Anderson Report noted that the TAFE sector provided more open access than the C.A.E. and university sectors.<sup>25</sup> The Williams report added that TAFE is "accessible to a much higher percentage of the population than are the universities and colleges of advanced education . . ." and that "it is also more accessible geographically . . . and more flexible in its approach to education and training than the other post-secondary sectors". It argued that TAFE "provides a very wide range of courses of varying length and levels, and responds to requests for special courses, often tailored to the specific needs of particular organisations and groups".<sup>26</sup>

The TAFE sector however has a status problem in relation to the other two sectors of post-secondary education. Even though discussions of Australian higher education rarely involve references to the "binary system" comprising universities and C.A.E.s since the formation of the Tertiary Education Commission in 1977, the preference now is not to talk about an emerging ternary or tripartite higher educational system with connotations of at least theoretical equality of sectors. Rather the tendency is to speak of all three sectors within a post-secondary system and at the same time to preserve the term "higher education" for all references that exclude the TAFE colleges, implying that the TAFE sector does not relate to the other two. The concern for equal status has been

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24. Harman, G.S. "Demographic and other Considerations" in Regional Colleges, edited by Anderson and others, pp.87-94. See also Selby Smith, "Non-Metropolitan Colleges of Advanced Education" in Education Research and Perspectives, June 1976, p.14 and The Williams Report, pp.250-252.

25. The Anderson Report, p.17.

26. The Williams Report, p.325.

strongly expressed by the TAFE Commission:- "Central to the Commission's argument for a better balance in the provision of education is the view that TAFE in Australia should be considered not in isolation but as an equal partner with other sectors of education. This requires that development of TAFE be so planned that, in conjunction with universities and colleges of advanced education, it provides a co-ordinated and effective range of opportunities for post-school education".<sup>27</sup> The way transfer of credits is handled for students wishing to move on from TAFE courses to C.A.E. or university courses could be a significant factor in determining whether Australia will be able to develop TAFE as part of a system described in the U.S.A. as "mass higher education" and by the Australian TAFE Commission as "mass post-secondary education".<sup>28</sup> If movement in this direction does not occur there could be a risk as Schuller has pointed out that "TAFE will be seen as responsible for discharging the recurrent education functions of the whole tertiary sector, while the other two sectors busy themselves with consolidating their conventional roles; catering for students coming more or less directly from secondary schools". He concludes that one possible outcome of this situation is "that the strengthening of TAFE will lead to recurrent education being given both a more heavily vocational character and a more isolated position than in the formal educational system".<sup>29</sup>

If it does occur, the TAFE sector could find itself in the position of informally conducting a "cooling-out" function for the other two sectors. For example, some students may initially test themselves out in TAFE courses before attempting degree programmes in colleges of advanced education and universities. TAFE institutions, like the

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27. Technical and Further Education Commission Report for the Triennium, 1977-1979, p.xxxii.

28. TAFE in Australia. May 1975, p.14.

29. Schuller. T.H.E.S., 16 December 1977, p.11.



Canadian community colleges, could become centres "where students can reconcile aspirations with realistic educational goals".<sup>30</sup> The universities and C.A.E.s would be protected from "poorer quality students" but not from others with whom they are less traditionally familiar - mature adults, particularly women, retired persons, and students from minority groups such as migrants and aborigines - who may want to progress further after successfully completing TAFE courses. If this occurred there could be pressure for some consideration to be given to changes in curricula and teaching methods.

Partridge has pointed out there are factors built into Australian higher education which mitigate against greater flexibility. Using insights developed by Martin Trow in a comparison of American and British higher educational systems he argues that - "If Australia insists as in the past on virtual uniformity in levels or standards, and if we continue to be obsessed with avoiding impossible differences in the educational status of different institutions, we won't have anything like as many options open to us as the Americans have had, nor, probably be able to afford in more than financial senses of the word - to provide a tertiary education for anything remotely approaching the proportionate numbers they educate. In America educational philosophy, equality of educational opportunity doesn't mean equality with the respect to the quality of the tertiary education provided for all".

In the case of the U.S. he points out that there exists "a large variety of different sorts of colleges or universities, more or less costly to attend, with very different levels of entrance qualifications attracting student bodies differing vastly in character, interests and intellectual standards, awarding degrees of very different quality, value or prestige".

He concludes "the absence of firmly defined strata within that

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30. Campbell. Community Colleges in Canada, p.76.

structure has given to American higher education an adaptability and flexibility; a capacity to innovate and experiment, which are lacking in the simpler and more centrally contrived and managed systems of tertiary education existing in Britain or Australia".<sup>31</sup> It will be recalled that, when comparing British and American higher educational systems, Trow pointed to the costs in maintaining high and uniform bachelor degree standards, particularly in impeding "the emergence of a unified system of higher education, including vocational, academic and professional studies, in a wide range of studies".<sup>32</sup> The same argument could apply to Australian university-level education, if not to Australian higher education (excluding the TAFE sector) as a whole. Batt has noted that regional C.A.E.s aim to provide students with "a competence and qualification that will be accepted not only in the region but throughout Australia and even internationally, and argues that one reason for this situation is that courses need to be approved by state and national bodies which tend to promote conformity and inhibit experiment."<sup>33</sup> The trend unfortunately may be encouraged by the position adopted by the Williams Report which advocated more power for the Council on Academic Awards in Advanced Education to enable it to ensure common standards of accreditation and direct responsibility for assessing courses. It argued that the continued existence or even the alleged existence of different standards of accreditation indicated the need for the Council to have such powers, and supported the recent introduction by the Council of the practice of "pairing" which involves states comparing their procedures and standards with other states and reporting to the Council. This was viewed as an "interesting development which holds promise of a significant further move towards common standards of accreditation".<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Partridge. Australian Higher Education, pp. 170-174.

<sup>32</sup> Trow, Martin. "Binary Dilemmas - an American view", in Higher Education Review, vol 1, No.3, Summer 1969, pp. 27-43.

<sup>33</sup> Batt. The College in the Region, p88.

<sup>34</sup> The Williams Report, p453.

Assuming that post-secondary education in Australia does become more flexible and that there is increased provision for the interchange of students between institutions in the different sectors, the problem of what might be called the uniform degree barrier could act as a brake on this process, particularly if funding for post-secondary education cannot be significantly increased. If Trow is correct about the high costs involved in maintaining uniformly high quality first degrees, it could be argued that there is very little opportunity for making Australian post-secondary education as a total system more flexible, and therefore for developing institutions similar to American community colleges as a general pattern, unless there is a significant upturn in the economy and a greater sense of commitment to increasing post-secondary education for all.

### Third Precondition

Australia has until recently relied to some extent on immigration for maintaining a supply of skilled labour and tended to neglect the development of requirements of its own further education provision. With the decline in migration, particularly from Europe, the neglect has been sharply highlighted. The setting up of the TAFE Commission and its subsequent absorption into the Tertiary Education Commission indicate that the priorities have changed.

Technician education has become the fastest growing component of the occupational stream of further education colleges.<sup>35</sup> Birrell doubts the ability of the Australian economy to absorb large numbers of high level technologists given its tendency to import technology from other developed economies. If true, the demand for high level technologists could flatten or decline and a surplus of graduates emerge in areas for which the C.A.E.s were originally set up. The effects of that situation would be more government questioning of the expansion of the

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35. Harman and others. Trade Technician Education, p.32.

tertiary applied field and increased attention being given to middle and lower level technology areas. He believes that the growing significance of the TAFE sector indicates that the trend is already occurring.<sup>36</sup>

The Kangan Report has stressed that "preparation for para-professional occupations, including technicians, in manufacturing, in transport and communication and in building and construction deserves special attention by TAFE authorities..."<sup>37</sup>

There would seem to be considerable evidence of interest and concern for the increased development of para-professional training in Australia. The problem may well be more a question of rationalising the distribution of such courses between C.A.E.s wishing to diversify into sub-tertiary work and those TAFE colleges currently experiencing growth in this area.

#### Fourth Precondition.

In 1973 Walker argued that one of the issues in Australian Education is a lack of community participation. He quotes an anonymous author who wrote for UNESCO in 1951:- "The outstanding need of Australian education (is) ... that every citizen should be made to feel that the state school belongs to him, that it is rendering him a real service, that he has obligations in regard to it". Walker also noted that "all over Australia parents and citizens are calling for a say in the governance of schools, and with the example of every other major English speaking country before them, who can blame them?"<sup>38</sup>

By 1975 there were clear signs in Australia of growing concern to promote community involvement in education. Professor R. Johnson spoke enthusiastically of the policies of the Schools Commission in

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<sup>36</sup> Birrell. The Future of Higher Education in Australia. p13.

<sup>37</sup> The Kangan Report, Vol 1, p89.

<sup>38</sup> Walker. Designing a New Education Authority. pp. 215-216.

encouraging community involvement in schools, which he saw as an attempt basically, to redistribute power.<sup>39</sup> In the same year Encel also noted that there was a demand for greater public participation in education policy making. He identified at least five active and effective interest groups. They are: teachers who are now relatively young and well educated and who are requesting a direct say in their own conditions of employment and the general loosening up of the organisational framework; parents, whose general educational level is also rising; independent school representatives on the Australian Schools Commission, the Womens' Movement which has led to the Schools Commission setting up a work party whose report on "Girls, School and Society" was published in 1975; and professional pressure groups such as The Australian College of Education, the Federation of University Staff Associations, the Australian Union of Students, the National Conference of Subject Teacher Associations and the Association for Children with Learning Disabilities, the Modern Language Teachers Association, the School Library Association and the World Education Fellowship.<sup>40</sup>

As for making education more relevant to the "needs" of the "community", it has already been noted that the Anderson Report has paid more attention than the other major reports to the implication of increasing enrolments of older students in post-secondary education. The Report predicted that "universities and colleges will have to adapt admission criteria, educational methods and course structures; all of these were developed in an era when young school leavers constituted the overwhelming proportion of the under-graduate clientele".<sup>41</sup> Schuller's observations

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<sup>39</sup> Johnson, Professor R. The Schools Commission and the Wider Community. A talk given to the 3rd Residential Weekend Conference of the Tasmanian Chapter of the Australian College of Education, 20 July, 1975.

<sup>40</sup> Encel, S. "Community Education" in The Community and Education, The Australian College of Education, 1977, pp.35-46.

<sup>41</sup> The Anderson Report. p244.

on the lack of adequate response by some higher education institutions to enrolment that have already undergone some degree of change in this direction indicate that not all the sectors may be prepared to make such adjustments.<sup>42</sup> Inevitably attention returns to the TAFE sector which is considered to be the most open and flexible of all three. Max Bone believes that TAFE is at the "crucial point in its history". He argues that, excluding some courses like medicine and dentistry, "TAFE is the most direct in its preparation of people for jobs, but it has a host of other tasks from remedial work at the lowest levels of numeracy and literacy to retraining for redundancy and to sub-professional work of the most specific kind". Changing patterns of employment and recreation will lead to a demand for "leisure activities" where the "challenge lies in allowing for those who wish to learn something in a rigidly disciplined way but not in a formal class situation". He sees the provision of facilities being flexible and arranged to suit the requirement of the participants. He concludes "thus, one of the great challenges is to research and investigate new methods of learning and organisation in the adult field. Important as they are, the mere addition of technological devices is not the answer; the improvement in cost-effectiveness for example is not the answer. We have tended to guess the kinds of things people would like to study and rarely to investigate the need, evaluate our methods, or the results achieved".<sup>43</sup>

It can be seen that there is a need for more attention to be given to changes in curricula and their evaluation, and in the way facilities are provided for adult students. However it can be claimed that there is a concern for making post-secondary education, particularly

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<sup>42</sup> Schuller. T.H.E.S., 16 December 1977, p11.

<sup>43</sup> Bone, Max. Report in Newsletter of Australian Association of Adult Education Inc., April 1979.

in the TAFE sector, more attuned to the "needs" of a changing society.

#### Fifth Precondition

Chris Duke conducted an OECD review of the state of affairs regarding recurrent education in Australia. In the introduction, J.R. Grass, the Director of the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) states that the traditional educational model takes the form of a progressive extension upwards of full-time education for young people. This model he claims is less viable than in the past:- "We should break the monopoly of the 16-19 age group on access to higher education - it will always favour the children of the existing social elites; spread the right to education to the adult, and in particular the early adult years; encourage firms, trade unions and public administration to accept responsibility for developing individuals through education and training; allow more flexible procedures for acquiring professional qualifications ..."<sup>44</sup>

Duke conducted his survey of interest and development of recurrent education in Australia by examining some of the major education enquiries and policy statements up to 1974. He began with "Education in South Australia" under the chairmanship of Professor Karmel 1969-70, and noted that the enquiry recommended several elements which could contribute to system of recurrent education, including full-time study leave for teachers, and special efforts to upgrade poorly qualified teachers. However there was no critique of the educational system from the recurrent education perspective. A proposal to raise the school leaving age was rejected on the grounds that rising retention rates would render legal changes redundant, but segregation of school from non-school experience in later years of compulsory education was not considered for re-examination with a view to seeing what choice the

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<sup>44</sup> Duke, Chris. Australia, pp.8-10.

curriculum provides between further study and work. Duke concluded that the Report was based on conventional assumptions about the relationship between schooling and work.

He examined the significance of the Technical and Further Education Commission which had not yet been legally constituted at the time of writing, and felt that it was not interesting from a recurrent education perspective. For one thing it would have to define what was involved in further education and hopefully encourage more discussion of recurrent education than has occurred in earlier Australian Education Commissions. The Committee which preceded the Commission in 1974 received several submissions suggesting a recurrent or lifelong perspective in approaching this task. However Duke demonstrated some doubts about the ability of the coming Commission to tackle this matter properly.

"It cannot adequately come to terms with the work and future of technical colleges in the Australian situation without examining the transition from compulsory and post-compulsory secondary education to non-tertiary further education. This includes the degree of choice which schools present to students, both by curriculum design and by attitudes to further education instilled in the secondary school system. On the one hand it thus has an opportunity to think and express itself very widely about lifelong education, both formal and informal, professional and general. On the other hand it will be under pressure to attend narrowly and specifically to the financial needs of vocational and trade-related technical education, traditionally conceived".<sup>45</sup>

The Willaims Report, given its title "Education, Training and Employment" is an interesting indication of interest or lack of interest in Australia in recurrent and lifelong education. Throughout this highly important Report there was no attempt to seriously consider the future development of post-secondary education in Australia from such a viewpoint.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid. pp. 28-41.



In general it is argued that post-secondary multi-level institutions such as community colleges, which can help to promote recurrent education policies and practices, can only be possible in Australia if there is greater co-ordination of the whole of post-secondary education. It cannot be argued that at present there is a strong enough interest in and demand for recurrent education in Australia which in itself could significantly help to encourage the development of community colleges.

#### Sixth Precondition

It is clear the co-ordination and planning of state post-secondary educational systems is essential for the development of community colleges or any multi-level institutions in Australia beyond the compulsory years of education. Morton summed up the situation quite simply in his outline of the case for the Shepparton Community College in Victoria:- "We (the College Council) saw the Community College as an independent educational institution of quality in its own right but we could not see how it could possibly bring together activities currently administered by various educational divisions or authorities unless a central state-coordinated body were set up which could establish policies for this and all similar multi-level institutions."<sup>46</sup>

The Technical and Further Education Commission has also pointed to the need for co-ordinating machinery at state as well as at federal levels to "achieve proper rationalisation of resources and to ensure that funding mechanisms do not enforce rigid roles on the sectors of education or otherwise distort decision-making". It had already noted that co-ordination would be necessary for the establishment of a "coherent structure for salaries and conditions of staff" within multi-level institutions.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Morton. "The Shepparton Community College". Paper to the Conference The Community College in Australia?

<sup>47</sup> Technical and Further Education Commission. Report for the Triennium 1977-1979, pp XXIII - XXIV.

The Anderson Report also pointed to the need for a co-ordinating authority in South Australia to settle disputes about sectoral boundaries, particularly in the area of overlap between the C.A.E.s and TAFE sectors.<sup>48</sup> Finally the Williams Report noted that the creation of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission and Post-Secondary Commissions in four states now makes it "easier to organise and finance multi-sector operations within single institutions", and recommended the use of contracting with respect to courses i.e., C.A.E.s providing TAFE courses or TAFE colleges providing advanced education courses or study-centre facilities.<sup>49</sup> These developments may help to overcome the fear expressed by Duke that the trend towards decentralisation, which "though not necessarily incompatible with recurrent education ... may impede the co-ordinated effort necessary for educational provision overall to become more responsive to recurrent patterns and needs".<sup>50</sup>

#### General Conclusions

The preconditions for the development of comprehensive adult-oriented community colleges in Australia are not completely satisfied in two areas - the recognition of strong public demand for greater and more varied forms of access to post-compulsory or post-secondary education coupled with an acceptance that there should be equality of opportunity for all (second precondition), and the acceptance of education as a lifelong process (fifth precondition). However community college systems have been introduced to the Northern Territory and are being considered for Tasmania. There is also an immediate interest in the development of multi-level post-secondary institutions for some isolated areas of Australia, which in time may be called community colleges. As for the educationally more developed areas of urban Australia, it can be

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<sup>48</sup> The Anderson Report, p145.

<sup>49</sup> The Williams Report, p274.

<sup>50</sup> Duke. Australia, p53.

anticipated that there will be continuing interest in selective characteristics of the North American community college but not necessarily in the institution in its entirety. Grant Harman has expressed the view that the community college concept "promised help in dealing with some of the weaknesses and problems in our present system". Some of the ones he listed are:-

1. More open access to post-school education. He notes that the community college is a convenient device to increase access without jeopardising the future of Australian universities as research institutions. It could also be a much more humane way of providing for weaker or "high risk" students. In other words it could provide a "cooling-out" function.
2. "Our present system to some extent lacks flexibility with regard to easy re-entry of persons who have had some post-school education".
3. "It is widely believed that the Technical and Further Education sector needs to be strengthened and made more attractive."
4. He notes that research shows many students have difficulty with career and post-school education choices and that the community college allows for a "high degree of switching tracks".
5. There is a need for more mix of units in a course. Some students may benefit from a combination of study in a technical/trades area and in the tertiary area.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Harman. The North American Community College Idea. Paper given to the Conference The Community College in Australia?

## CHAPTER 23

### POSSIBLE LOCATIONS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES IN AUSTRALIA

#### Introduction

When reviewing possible locations in non-metropolitan regions for community colleges, Batt believes that the "case should be examined for allowing a variety of types of community colleges to develop. Possible types include more comprehensive colleges of advanced education; broadened technical and further education colleges; extended secondary or matriculation colleges; and developments based on adult or continuing education centres, study centres or other community education centres".<sup>1</sup>

Batt presumably had the community colleges at Darwin and Alice Springs in mind when he referred to adult education centres as possible locations.<sup>2</sup> Generally, the favoured locations tend to be all that Batt mentioned except the last. The Victorian Report referred to three types of requests for community colleges in country areas, namely new colleges under their own act (eg. as requested by the Goulburn Valley Committee), and community colleges based on either diversified technical colleges or colleges of advanced education.<sup>3</sup> Harman lists four possible options - selected technical colleges with added provision for tertiary courses and adult education, C.A.E.s taking on TAFE courses, new matriculation colleges or senior high schools, as developed in Tasmania and Canberra, encouraging adult usage, and finally the development of completely new institutions. He tended to rule out the last two options, the third because "it may be asking too much of any institution to combine high school, technical college and tertiary institution functions", and the fourth because of current financial restraint although he recognised

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<sup>1</sup> Batt. The College in the Region, p125.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson and others. Communities and Colleges, p29. and p64.

<sup>3</sup> The Victorian Report. Ch.8, p21.

that "in many respects (this was) the most attractive possibility".<sup>4</sup>

For the sake of simplicity, the most common location recommended in proposals submitted to recent major reports into post-secondary education will be accepted for further examination. They are that community colleges, under some conditions, can be developed in the C.A.E. sector based on regional colleges particularly in the TAFE sector (based on technical colleges mainly in isolated areas). The special case of Tasmania, where community colleges are being developed at the interface between TAFE services and upper secondary education, is dealt with as a special case study (see Appendix). No attention has been given in major reports to the possibility of locating community colleges of the North American type in urban areas, except for the occasional reference to Prahran College of Advanced Education. Some speculation on the possible relevance of a diffused outer-directed model for urban areas will be offered.

#### The C.A.E. Sector

The Williams Committee classified the colleges of advanced education into five groups:-

1. Central Institutes of Technology covering the large metropolitan institutions providing wide ranges of studies. These have formed a group known as the Directors of Central Institutes of Technology which is known more simply as the "DOCIT Group". The Group involves eight institutions - the N.S.W. Institute of Technology, The Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, The Caulfield Institute of Technology, Swinburne Institute of Technology, the Queensland Institute of Technology, the South Australian Institute of Technology, the Western Australian

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<sup>4</sup> Harman. "The North American Community College Idea". A paper given to the Conference The Community College in Australia?

Institute of Technology, and the Canberra College of Advanced Education. These eight institutions between them cater for almost one third of all full-time equivalent students in the C.A.E. sector, and almost two-thirds of students in courses other than in teacher education.

2. Regional Colleges which also have a considerable range of studies and which have developed a sense of identity. These include the C.A.E.s at Ballarat, Bendigo, and the Gippsland, and Warrnambool Institute in Victoria; Darling Downs and Capricornia Institutes in Queensland; Riverina, Mitchell and Northern Rivers in N.S.W.; and the Tasmanian College of Advanced Education.
3. Other Colleges namely five metropolitan multi-purpose colleges (one in N.S.W. and four in Victoria) that have between them 1,000 and 2,000 full-time equivalent enrolments, but which in 1977 did not meet the criteria for admittance into the DOCIT Group.
4. Teachers Colleges (or Colleges of Advanced Education in which teacher education is predominant). Forty out of the 70 C.A.E.s for N.S.W., Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia combined are in this group. They exhibit a great range of primary and secondary teacher training.
5. Miscellaneous - Small specialist colleges in fields such as agriculture, para-medical studies and the arts.<sup>5</sup>

The C.A.E. sector in general has been accused of suffering from "upward academic drift" which is described as "consisting of aspirations to take on the attitude and objectives of autonomous universities by

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5. The Williams Report. pp.229-234.

seeking freedom from public control and the discipline of external validation; increasing ... commitments to research, establishing the structure of subject departments and hankering after professorships, upgrading courses and introducing higher and more formal entry requirements."<sup>6</sup>

The Western Australian Report argued that this tendency was reinforced by the Commonwealth definition of the C.A.E. sector and its funding policies for tertiary courses which discouraged "downward" movement.<sup>7</sup> The Williams Report also drew attention to the comments on this matter made by the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education (Second Report), the third and fourth reports of the Commission on Advanced Education, and the Federation of Australian University Staff Associations.<sup>8</sup>

The DOCIT Group have recommended that there be a new sector of senior institutions of vocational higher education created with the same relationship to Commonwealth and State authorities as the universities, though still distinct from them. The Williams Report conjectured that the Group was possibly influenced by the Robbins Report of the U.K. which recommended that there be Special Institutions for Scientific and Technological Education and Research set up in England. The Group wanted the authority to credit their own courses and not to be subjected to the procedures of Australian Council on Awards in Advanced Education.

If community colleges are to be based on C.A.E s, the most likely sub-group in which this can occur is the non-metropolitan regional colleges. Batt has quoted that 1977-79 Commission of Advanced Education which has recognised that "... in regions where no other tertiary institutions exist, colleges of advanced education have an opportunity

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<sup>6</sup> Burgess, Tyrell and Pratt, John, Policy and Practice: The Colleges of Advanced Technology, 1970, cited by The Williams Report, p250.

<sup>7</sup> The W.A. Report, p22.

<sup>8</sup> The Williams Report, pp. 250-251.

and, where the need is identified, an obligation to provide tertiary level courses of a general nature". It also anticipated that there could be development of institutions that span more than one of the existing post-secondary sectors.<sup>9</sup> However a major study of such institutions concluded that the university is the main reference point of regional colleges. A survey of regional college staff attitudes indicated that 40% of the respondents said they would be interested in a university appointment at the same salary, while another 10% said they would like a university appointment at a lower salary. The pre-occupation with the university model was seen as having three unfortunate consequences, namely the unnecessary replication of university type courses, undue concern with the establishing post-graduate courses, and a lack of concern for expanding two-year courses into the sub-tertiary area. The comment was made that "in the long run .... it will probably be in the interest of the college sector if staff are less pre-occupied with the university model, and become increasingly interested in what other C.A.E.s are doing and with overseas models, such as the U.S. community and junior colleges".<sup>10</sup>

One theoretical possibility is to encourage teachers colleges which are experiencing declining enrolments to diversify along the lines of a community college. As already noted some have argued that the colleges are too inflexible for this to happen and are short of funds for recruiting new staff.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps for these reasons recent state reports on post-secondary education have not tried to encourage diversification amongst the C.A.E.s specialising in teacher education, but rather have concentrated only on rationalising programmes and facilities in the light

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9. Batt. The College in the Region, p.40.

10. Harman, G.S. Chapter 1 of the Regional Colleges, Vol.2, edited by Anderson and others, pp.17-18.

11. Treyvaud and McLaren. Equal But Cheaper, p.57.



of present and projected requirements for trained teachers.<sup>12</sup>

With the possible exception of some metropolitan based colleges, such as Prahran C.A.E., the only possible location within this sector which could promote community college developments as a pattern would be amongst those regional colleges which Batt reported as having an interest in sub-tertiary work. These tended to be the institutions which had been technical colleges prior to the Martin Committee investigations and which, when subsequently upgraded as C.A.E.s, were discouraged from continuing sub-tertiary courses by Commonwealth funding policies. It appears that some would like the chance to re-engage in lower level studies in order to encourage enrolments and to make better use of staff, buildings and facilities.<sup>13</sup> These institutions, however, in attempting to make this move would still be faced with problems other than the obvious need for co-ordination at the Commonwealth and State levels to achieve multi-sectoral provision. Non-metropolitan locations for community colleges may deter some staff from applying for positions partly for status reasons, and particularly because of doubts about the ability to subsequently transfer out into other C.A.E.s, particularly those in metropolitan areas which have not diversified in the same way. Administrative difficulties could also be experienced if tertiary and non-tertiary staff applied to the same department. These could become separated by level of work and field of teaching interest.<sup>14</sup> Bone believes that the values and attitudes of C.A.E. staff compared with those of TAFE colleges would hinder effective communications with students from lower socio-economic groups which, presumably, would be of special interest to community colleges.<sup>15</sup>

12. See The W.A. Report. Ch.4, The Victoria Report. Ch.4, and The Anderson Report. pp.186-205.

13. Batt. The College in the Region, p.25.

14. Selby Smith. Education Research and Perspectives, 1976, p.15.

15. Bone, M. H. Classifications and Nomenclature of Middle-Level Courses in Colleges of Advanced Education and in TAFE Colleges, Appendix J of the Williams Report, vol.2.

A similar point was made by Batt who quoted Harlacher's thesis that the community dimension of community colleges can be viewed in opposition to its intellectual dimension - the academic aspirations of its staff.<sup>16</sup>

Treyvaud and McLaren claimed that the policies of professional bodies had unfortunate affects on the C.A.E. sector as a whole. They argue:-

"Professional bodies have established different grades of membership, have entered the area of instructing and examining, have upgraded their entrance requirements irrespective of whether these requirements were appropriate or necessary for their personnel and have issued directives on curriculum development.

While professional groups continue to operate as accrediting and examining bodies, their technical preoccupations, lack of educational concern, vocational protectionism, and constitutional conservatism have resulted in courses structures becoming crowded with purely technical subjects to the exclusion of liberal studies. Such liberal studies as exist become sterile because they are not vocational prerequisites and are consequently treated with indifference by the student body".<sup>17</sup>

They also argue that state and national accreditation procedures reinforce this tendency:- "The affect of accreditation is paradoxical. Designed to establish common standards, it establishes minimum standards at the cost of making colleges permanently subsidiary to the universities whose responsibility is seen as the maintenance and development of standards. But, as the universities do not accept vocational responsibilities there is no pressure on them to develop standards of practice. By default these become the province of the professional associations".<sup>18</sup>

Another possible difficulty is the tendency of regional colleges to have college councils dominated by very conservative membership. A

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16. Batt. The College in the Region, pp.81-82.

17. Treyvaud and McLaren, Equal But Cheaper, p.57.

18. Ibid. p.68.

survey of the composition of such councils found that the typical member was a male, over 40 with a degree or diploma and above average income. Those with the highest qualification tended to be from universities, professions and the public service. Lay members were drawn heavily from the business and government sector. There were few women. These findings and those of Hartnett's study of the composition of American community college trustees are remarkably similar.<sup>19</sup>

Given these difficulties and the pre-disposition of most of the C.A.E. sector to emulate the university sector, it would appear that conditions are not very favourable for the development of community colleges along North American lines amongst the C.A.E.s except for a few regional colleges. Even in these cases, there would be severe problems to overcome, particularly given the absence of an existing pattern of community colleges in the more populous states which could act as a reference point on questions such as salaries, working conditions, career structures, and possible ways of relating to the community on the one hand to higher education as it is traditionally understood on the other.

#### The TAFE Sector

The conditions of entry combined with the location and range of courses available make the TAFE sector the most accessible of the post-secondary education system. The Williams Committee received a submission from the Technical and Further Education Commission emphasising the value of the open access policy of TAFE which assumes that "it is not sufficient to refuse entry to a course on the grounds that the applicant does not possess necessary educational pre-requisites", and adds that "it is the job of TAFE to provide the opportunity to gain those pre-requisites".<sup>20</sup> In terms of its commitment to an "open-access" policy, the TAFE sector

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19. Harman, G.S. Ch.13 of Regional Colleges, pp.504-511.

20. The Williams Report, p.317.

would appear to be philosophically more in tune with the "open door" commitment of North American community colleges.

The capacity of TAFE to respond to changing needs and interests is due in part to the predominance of part-time staff. The Williams Report pointed to the fact that in 1977, part-time staff contributed 31% of the annual teaching effort in the major TAFE authorities and argued that, if there was a move to a higher proportion of full-time staff, TAFE would lose some of its flexibility and ability to provide a great range of courses quickly.<sup>21</sup>

There are problems regarding access however. The Kangan Report examined the general barriers to access, and, like the Williams Report<sup>22</sup> it commented on motivational problems caused by the inability to cope with early compulsory education, the raising of formal prerequisites for entry or re-entry into professional courses, inappropriate learning methods, and, in common with traditional secondary education, the assumption that adult student needs are the same as for younger students.<sup>23</sup>

It examined access problems caused by the "system" and commented that "in all states, some more than others, there appears to be an inbuilt tendency for the educational system to determine what students will do and what their vocations will be". It should be noted that this was written in 1974, and that, as indicated earlier, there seems to be a movement away from what Hopper would call "early differentiation and specialisation of educational routes". The question of the transfer of credits from TAFE institutions to those in other sectors of post-secondary education was raised. The Report regretted that "such credit is less readily given to individuals in Australia". The narrow vocational bias of some technical colleges in keeping with the warnings of ILO were seen in the

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<sup>21</sup> The Williams Report, pp.325-326.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p318.

<sup>23</sup> The Kangan Report, Vol.1, pp.17-19.

long run as "self defeating to the individual".<sup>24</sup>

It also looked at what it called "discriminative access" particularly access to the apprenticeship trades which is restricted on age grounds and where "adults are not encouraged to learn to practise a skill or to learn the theory".<sup>25</sup> "The requirement that people must enrol in a course with a particular institution in order to sit for that institution's examination which bestows a vocational or other qualification" is viewed as another type of discriminative access. The Report argued there are other ways in which people can prepare for examinations including by personal studies. It agreed with the insistence by TAFE administrators that class attendance is essential for part of the educational progress but pointed out that "adults should have the right to forgo certain benefits as well as to have access to them. There are many ways in which technical educational authorities unwittingly apply to adult education, the authoritarianism inherent in the large scale education of children and youths".<sup>26</sup> Finally the Report examined access problems in TAFE for women, people in country areas, handicapped persons and minority groups.<sup>27</sup>

The open and extensive discussion of access problems to TAFE by the Commonwealth Committee is extremely healthy and suggests that, at the national level at least, a determined effort will be made to improve TAFE qualitatively as well as quantitatively in the future. It should also be noted that many of the problems seem to be associated with the traditional component of technical colleges - the trade training or stream 3 component - which is not growing as fast as the stream 2 area - technician or para-professional education.<sup>28</sup>

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24. Ibid. p.20

25. Ibid. p.22

26. Ibid. p.24

27. Ibid. pp.25-28.

28. Harman and others. Trade and Technician Education, p.32. See also Technical and Further Education Commission, Report for the Triennium 1977-1979, p.242.

There are indications for example that by 1991 enrolments of women in stream 2 (para-professional) where access barriers appear to be less will have grown to a considerably greater level than in stream 3 (trades).<sup>29</sup> While para-professional training programmes continue to become a more significant component of the overall TAFE provision, there is hope that access can be broadened further.

Other problems still remain to be overcome. TAFE colleges are poorly equipped and, even more significantly, appear to have low status in the eyes of the public when compared with C.A.E.s and universities.<sup>30</sup> Harman, Richardson and Woodburne are optimistic. They believe that technical colleges will assume an increasing part in providing full-time courses for post-18 year olds in a role similar to that played by the community colleges in the U.S.A. They argue:- "A move in this direction has already begun with the introduction of some full-time U.G. level 3 courses (tertiary level diplomas) in technical colleges in New South Wales and the liberalising of the concept of the task of the colleges illustrated by changes in name from Department of Technical Education to Department of Further Education. Clearly in the future more students, both full and part-time, are going to demand of further education a range of educational provision more extensive than anything offered hitherto by the traditional departments of technical education". They also believe that given an accelerated rate of technical, economic and social change, there will be a rising proportion of graduates from further education occupational courses requiring recurrent education far superior than now available.<sup>31</sup> They conceded that the "lack of a clear concept of further education in the community" is serious, but praised the Kangan Report for its philosophy which it saw as rejecting a manpower orientation in favour of a greater commitment to the development of the potential of the individual within the realities of the demands of the world of work.

29. See Table 3.5, The Kangan Report, Vol.1, p.79.

30. Ibid. p.XXXIII and pp.59-60. See also Hortle. Some Impressions of Upper Secondary Education Overseas, and Harman and others. Trade and Technician Education, p.228.

31. Harman and others. Trade and Technician Education, p.230

More importantly they saw the Report as encouraging "a cohesive view of somewhat disparate parts of further education", which would make it possible to imbue those connected with it "with a more positive sense of direction".

Others have shown concern about lack of precise definition of the scope of TAFE. One writer is reported as saying "the distinctions between universities and colleges of advanced education are becoming troublesome; the distinctions between colleges of advanced education, technical colleges and technical schools are no less troublesome."<sup>32</sup> The Australian Committee on Technical and Further Education (ACOTAFE) was not concerned with encouraging more precise distinction between institutions. It viewed the overlapping of courses between secondary schools and technical colleges, and between technical colleges and C.A.E.s as good as it would allow adults "greater access to recurrent education". It felt this would be particularly important for "relatively larger non-metropolitan areas which would be well served by community colleges providing opportunities for adults to satisfy their educational needs".<sup>33</sup> ACOTAFE however was concerned about the level of community awareness of available educational opportunities in TAFE, and strongly recommended that state bodies take more interest in publicity.<sup>34</sup> It also made a plea for a stronger interest in research projects relating to the TAFE area - "its problems and its potential ... because it has no established place as an integral part of the educational system".<sup>35</sup>

The question of standardising the nomenclature of courses and developing nationally recognised qualifications within the TAFE sector has been raised as a matter of concern by some. The Kangan Report proposed that States should pursue para-professional educational provision

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<sup>32</sup> The Kangan Report, vol.1, p5.

<sup>33</sup> loc.cit.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. pp21, and 22.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p.XXX.

more vigorously and develop nationally recognised qualifications.<sup>36</sup>

The Williams Report recommended that the TAFE Council of the Tertiary Education Commission build up a national register of classified awards which "would help make qualifications more portable, facilitate transfer of credits between TAFE institutions and various sectors of post-secondary education and provide employers and associations with a more effective means of assessing qualifications for employment or for association membership".<sup>37</sup> The issue was considered significant enough for Bone, to prepare a special paper for the Committee.<sup>38</sup> Such a development is obviously important in encouraging greater flexibility within the whole of post-secondary education provided it does not inhibit the development of a diversity of levels of awards within TAFE as it is claimed has occurred in the university sector,<sup>39</sup> and the C.A.E. sector.<sup>40</sup>

Community involvement in TAFE was also raised by the Kangan Report. Three States provided for community representation on State Councils of Technical Education - N.S.W., Victoria and Tasmania - but only in Victoria do local school or college councils have responsibilities that involve executive decision-making. It was noted that Victoria intends to develop community involvement even further, particularly as regards power to authorise the use of funds for equipment purchases. ACOTAFE was less sure, however, whether this development would extend to "the technical college activities peopled exclusively by adults" in addition to "secondary and technical schools whose students are minors and to a less extent, adolescents". It expressed the view that "divisions and

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36. Ibid. p.89.

37. The Williams Report. p.457.

38. Bone. Classification and Nomenclature of Middle-Level Courses.

39. Partridge. Australian Higher Education, pp.170-171.

40. Treyvaud and McLaren. Equal But Cheaper, p.68.



departments of technical or further education should examine the role of State Councils for TAFE and local councils (as already occurs in Victoria) for the purpose of encouraging more direct community responsibility". It drew special attention to adult students and the part-time nature of their attendance and argued that a "form of community involvement in technical education needs to take this into account. Ways and means of facilitating student representation on local councils would be worth examining".<sup>41</sup>

The concern by some TAFE administrators for an independent identity has, as the Williams Report observed, led to several attempts to break the close nexus between the administration of secondary schools and the TAFE sector.<sup>42</sup> The Report did not commit itself on the matter but argued that TAFE should have close links with secondary schools and the advanced education sector. It pointed out that some courses in TAFE are similar in content to those in senior secondary schools, and many secondary teachers give full-time or part-time instruction to TAFE students at this level. It also took the opportunity of supporting the combination of general secondary, vocational and adult education services proposed for the new community colleges in Tasmania.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless the fact that the TAFE sector receives its funding from both State and Federal sources, unlike the other two sectors which are entirely funded by the Commonwealth Government, complicates the problems involved in the co-ordination of the whole of post-secondary education - a development recognised as essential if multi-level institutions such as community colleges, are to be considered for Australia.

The Victorian Report recommended that the existing State Council for Technical Education be abolished and replaced by a Board of Technical and Further Education which would be subordinate and advisory to the Post-

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<sup>41</sup> The Kangan Report, Vol.1. p56.

<sup>42</sup> See The W.A. Report, The Victorian Report, and The Kearney Report of Tasmania.

<sup>43</sup> The Williams Report, pp.286-287.

Secondary Education Commission. In so doing it had to face the problem that the Victorian Education Department "at least for some time to come, will continue to be a major partner both in the funding and administration of technical and further education," and suggested "means of effecting close working arrangements" between the Board and the Department. It recommended that a very senior officer of the Technical Division of the Education Department be the Executive Officer of the Board, and that the day to day administration of the technical and further education system should continue to be carried on by the Technical Division of the Department. However it was strongly of the opinion that the new Board be responsible to the Post-Secondary Education Commission rather than to the Education Department".<sup>44</sup> Clearly if the Education Department and the Commission failed to agree on major issues, the Board could be hampered in assisting the Commission in fulfilling its function of co-ordination. The Anderson Report raised the question of whether the South Australian Department of Further Education can be co-ordinated by the Tertiary Education Authority of South Australia given that it has its own Act and has direct access to the Minister. It was recommended that the Department be left as it is for now but that the situation be reviewed in about three years time to see if co-ordination has been working effectively.<sup>45</sup>

Despite these difficulties it is generally agreed that the TAFE sector is more flexible than the other sectors in its approach to education and training and that only by diversifying TAFE institutions can country regions have accessibility to higher education.<sup>46</sup> Provided post-secondary education can be properly co-ordinated, the best hope for the development of community colleges in Australia, particularly in isolated

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<sup>44</sup> The Victorian Report. pp.4-5.

<sup>45</sup> The Anderson Report. pp.234-235.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p149. See also The Williams Report. pp.321-322, and p.325.

areas, would seem to lie with the TAFE sector. The Williams Report has argued that with proper co-ordination, it would be possible to develop "rationalisation of facilities and arrangements for contracts between universities, advanced education authorities and TAFE to make degree and diploma studies more accessible ... "47

#### A Diffused Outer-Directed Model for Urban Areas?

Discussion of community college proposals in Australia tends to be heavily centred on campus-based models. Non-campus post-secondary education is thought of almost entirely in terms of external studies. Essentially the bias of attention is towards the consolidation and rationalisation of post-secondary education principally through greater co-ordination and planning. The Williams Report certainly makes this a priority above growth, given the current situation of general economic restraint. In terms of the ideal community college types developed earlier, there is little attention paid to the development of alternatives to predominantly concentrated inner-directed models.<sup>48</sup> Some thought has been given to the question of access but, except for the Anderson Report and to some extent the Kangan Report, there has been little attempt to speculate on possible access problems created by changing enrolment patterns. Certainly no major sector of post-secondary education has produced an association similar to the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges which has suggested that new sources of students be actively sought given a declining growth of students from the secondary sector. The lack of interest in actively seeking out new sources of students would appear to prejudice the chances of adult-oriented community colleges developing in Australian cities.

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47. The Williams Report. p.321.

48. A Warning that those regional C.A.E.s wanting to serve "a wide range of community needs" will have to consider the possibility that "new buildings could create barriers between a college and a community" was given by Batt in The College in the Region, p.103.

If that situation were to change, it is possible to consider the creation of a diffused outer-directed community college model for urban areas which would operate at very low cost. Harlacher, an advocate of community-based as opposed to college and faculty-based community colleges, reported in 1974 on the development of an open community college as a fourth college of the Junior College District of Metropolitan Kansas City in Missouri. The fourth college complements and supplements the other three based community colleges. Harlacher describes it as:- "A college that exists without a formal campus; a college that has established a network of learning sites that offer both formal and informal learning opportunities; a college that utilises a faculty, not solely of academically credentialed individuals but of community personnel with demonstrated expertise in their several fields of endeavour, thus making the entire District a laboratory for learning; a college that emphasizes multi-media, multi-model, self-instructional learning systems - recognising that what is learned is more important than what is taught".

The three campus-based colleges operate as a consortium with a policy board composed of the three presidents and the chancellor of the District, namely Harlacher himself. It is this institute which acts as the "open college" and which helps to meet community needs in three ways - through programmes and services operated directly by the Institute, through specific programmes and services operated by the colleges under a contract with the Institute, with the Institute serving as a broker between client and college, and through programmes and services permanently assigned to the colleges, with the Institute serving as a co-ordinator .<sup>49</sup>

It should be noted that the fourth college is not in opposition to the other three campus-based colleges, but rather interacts sensitively

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<sup>49</sup> Harlacher, Dr. Ervin L. "Providing a Comprehensive Programme of Community Service" in Beyond the Open Door, the Open College.

and in a co-ordinated manner with them in an attempt to widen access, particularly to lower socio-economic groups. Translated into the urban Australian situation, such groups could well be migrants and urban aborigines.

The Williams Report has recommended the use of "contracting" as a device for diversifying some post-secondary institutions, particularly underutilised C.A.E.s extending into TAFE programmes and the diversification of TAFE colleges in country regions. There is no reason why contracting could not be used to develop institutions, similar to the fourth college in the Kansas District, which would act as brokers between existing post-secondary institutions and the community. Initially, perhaps it could be developed under the TAFE umbrella as a new type of low cost institution with a specific role of extending the existing provision in urban areas as much as possible.

It is important to note that the role of broker could be promoted in relation to campus-based institutions in all three sectors of post-secondary education. If used in this way it would help to increase the level of co-operation between the three sectors, thereby encouraging a possible movement towards the development of an integrated post-secondary system. It would also be in keeping with the thrust of the Poverty Enquiry in as much as it would help to make post-secondary education more attractive to those sections of the community who tend to view educational buildings with caution, if not fear.

#### General Conclusions

The setting up of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission in 1977 signified the shift towards thinking about post-secondary education as an integrated unit rather than as three separate sectors. The Williams Report, though cautious in its support of community college proposals for Australia, has further encouraged this process by introducing the concept of course contracting. Further progress could mean the term

"multi-level" as applied to post-secondary education may be increasingly replaced by "comprehensive" with its stronger connotations of coherence in philosophy and internal unity. The clear need in Australia is for more research in the immediate future aimed at developing a more sophisticated understanding of a range of community college concepts and a deeper appreciation of the problems involved in relating various types of community colleges to other educational institutions in the secondary and higher educational areas. At present there is insufficient information and analysis to properly relate community college concepts developed overseas to Australian conditions, though the situation is undoubtedly improving.

Proposals for the development of community colleges have been made for the isolated country areas of Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales. If any are implemented, they should be monitored very closely. However the best reference points for developing community college concepts appropriate to Australian conditions must lie mainly in the Northern Territory and, given in the main its lack of provision for higher educational programmes, to a lesser extent in Tasmania. Both systems, on the other hand, may have equal and considerable significance in suggesting ways of combining professional staff with different traditions, assuming the successful introduction of a policy of appropriate salary scales and working conditions.

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## APPENDIX

### THREE CASE STUDIES

#### Introduction

Anderson and others in their study of post-compulsory education in Northern Australia pointed to the need for "a league of community colleges in Australia so that staff could think of themselves essentially as community college personnel rather than as teachers working in a community college, but whose background and prospects for promotion are likely to be found in other sorts of institutions such as universities, C.A.E.s, technical colleges and secondary schools".<sup>1</sup> The development of a community college system in the Northern Territory since 1974 and the proposed system of another type of community colleges for Tasmania are of great significance to the rest of Australia, if only because they could become important reference points for similar developments in other states. For this reason brief case studies of the community college developments and proposals for both areas are presented.

There is a need in Australia for broader and more sophisticated interpretations of community college concepts which, so far, have tended to have inner-directed biases. In this respect it could be argued that innovation has tended to be thought of in terms of diffusing inner-directed provision through the more efficient development of external studies. Very little thought has been given to community college models which espouse outer-directed values. The case study of the WAIT Open Learning Project which exhibits some characteristics similar to the Saskatchewan community college system is also presented as a possible conceptual

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<sup>1</sup> Anderson, D.S., Batt, K.J., and Rosenberg, K.J., Communities and Colleges (Post-Compulsory Education in Northern Australia) Education Unit, Research School of Social Science, A.N.U., Canberra 1976, p46.

reference point. The suggestion has already been made that a diffused outer-directed model could be considered for increasing access to post-secondary education in urban areas of Australia. The Open Learning Project, though devised to meet the needs of students in isolated areas of Western Australia, may indicate characteristics that could be relevant to this suggestion. This case study will be presented first.<sup>2</sup>

### The W.A.I.T. Open Learning Project

In essence Dr. Mike Walker, the Director of the Open Learning Project of the Western Australian Institute of Technology, has attempted to invert the existing educational system and, in so doing, to create a "theoretical system". In this system, "virtually none of the resources are located on a central campus; the services come to the students individually; acquiring knowledge takes place at any time, at any place, in any sequence; there is not necessarily any assessment but, if there is, it should be carried out at flexible times, at a variety of places, in a variety of ways ..."<sup>3</sup>

On receiving enquiries about courses, Dr. Walker sends a letter outlining the features of the Project. Some of the points he emphasises are that it is meant to be complementary and not a replacement for what is already offered in post-secondary education, that it is meant for those who are capable of study but who cannot fit in with the requirements of the traditional system, that there is no such thing as a range of courses on offer, nor such a thing as an enrolment period, student progress will be monitored by learning consultants, assessment will be by a variety of methods and that the level of study depends on the aptitude and motivation of the student.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For an explanation of the terms "inner-directed", "outer-directed", "diffused", and "concentrated" as used in the case studies, see Chapter 18 of the main thesis on Community College Concepts.

<sup>3</sup> Walker, M.G. Towards a True Community College. The First Annual Report of the Open Learning Project submitted to the Educational Development Unit, Western Australian Institute of Technology, January 1975.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. pp 86-89

The Project's outer-directed values are clearly illustrated by an emphasis on the student determining the course programme. Again, in the letter, Dr. Walker states:- "Traditionally, study has been organised for groups of students all of whom are studying the same things at the same rates. Things are laid down by the organisers. . . . . so the student and not the organiser nominates what he or she wants to study. The student devises his own course in conjunction with a study co-ordinator. So, no two students will be doing exactly the same thing".<sup>5</sup>

If, after the initial contact, interest is still shown by the student, an "orientation" process begins involving some introductory reading followed by a few lessons each "with a simple set of notes". Once this process is over an attempt is made to establish "a learning contract" or at least to formalise the suggested contract which can, in the early days, be very diffuse. Wherever practicable, use is made of audio and video tapes and in 1974 there were plans for experiments to be conducted a year later with the A.B.C. on a radio talkback session.<sup>6</sup> Another interesting aspect of the project is the use of light aircraft for visiting students who are located very far from Perth.<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Walker believed that the project could become a community college with an Australia-wide operation. He pointed out that the advantages of having a similar scheme operating in every state would be:-

- "it could solve the problem of transferring credit interstate. It would be a mammoth task to equate every unit in every study area offered by every institution in Australia, but the content of a partially completed portfolio will be obvious.

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p87

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. pp 31-32

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p8?

- it would not compete with existing systems, and would be cheaper than building campuses".<sup>8</sup>

He claimed he knew of people in education in every state who would be willing to work within the philosophy, "given the money" and doubted if "it would be necessary to have anything more than a very small staff co-ordinating the whole thing - this could be done under the auspices of an existing organisation such as the Centre for Continuing Education in Canberra or under projected organisations such as the National Institute for Open Tertiary Education".<sup>9</sup>

Some of the problems involved in setting up the project and maintaining it were listed as establishing a realistic education base, starting feedback from the student, maintaining communication with the student, locating resources (i.e. learning consultants and equipment) and minimising travel given the tremendous distances involved.<sup>10</sup>

Another problem was that of certification. This one was unanticipated, as one of the objectives was "an education which caters for individual student needs, which is not simply a substitute for the existing system and in which the acquisition of formal qualifications is not a major purpose".<sup>11</sup> As it turned out attention had to be given to "evolving a system which enables (students) to be granted equivalents to existing W.A.I.T. units".<sup>12</sup>

Dr. Nicholas Haines anticipated that "some might object that there is no community at all in the Open Learning Project". He conceded the point in a physical sense but argued that "a poor family linked to the network of learners has surely a little more communication with its fellows than it had before and might conceivably, through learning,

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p.82.

<sup>9</sup> loc.cit.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. pp.21-23.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p.33.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p.34.

extend this".<sup>13</sup>

Haines believes that the following needs must be confronted if projects of this nature are to be extended:- "First, the avoidance of institutionalisation. Second, co-ordination and an animating national agency. Third, sufficient funds to promote the enterprise without institutionalising or reduction of flexibility". He believes that the W.A.I.T. Project will not survive if left in isolation and that it will require "effective but flexible links with educational resources and needs throughout the nation" if it is at least to achieve its potential. He notes Dr. Walker's suggestion that the Centre for Continuing Education in Canberra could act as the "animating centre".<sup>14</sup>

By 1977 Walker, in conjunction with Kennedy, concluded after four years of operation of the project that "it is clear that whilst a campus-based educational system can cater for the bulk of education requirements of any society, there are significant numbers who are clearly unable or unwilling to participate". They listed some of the particular conclusions that had emerged as being:-

1. "In any community there is likely to be a wealth of latent talent who can stimulate and guide educational activities.
2. Any system of education appropriate to a particular community must be unique if it is to take account of all the influencing parameters.
3. Many mature age adults are anxious to re-enter the educational scene, are often not solely motivated by the lure of a final qualification, and do not want a lengthy 'in depth' course of study.
4. Externalising internal courses of study, whilst providing opportunities for many country-based students, is constrained

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<sup>13</sup> Haines, Dr. Nicholas. "Non-participation in continuing education", in "Lifelong Education and Poor People: Three Studies," Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, A.G.P.S. Canberra, 1976, p.41.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p.42.

by what is on offer by the established system, and furthermore cannot always accommodate individuals who must work for a living".<sup>15</sup>

Unfortunately they had doubts about whether Open Learning will ever be established as an alternative system. "There are many reasons for this, perhaps the principal one being that it impinged on virtually all traditionally district sectors of education, including adult education which is expected to pay its own way. There is unfortunately, no Australian Commission of Alternative Education Systems".<sup>16</sup>

Whether or not the Open Learning Project of W.A.I.T. survives and develops further, it must at least be viewed as a significant attempt to develop a diffused outer-directed model of a community college within Australian conditions, the lessons from which could be used in guiding similar developments in urban as well as other isolated rural areas of Australia.

#### The Community College of the Northern Territory

In this section extensive use will be made of the study made by Anderson, Batt and Rosenberg of the community college system of the Northern Territory. The study was completed in mid 1976 - a little over two years after the college opened. During that time considerable difficulties of development were experienced partly because the college represented the "first organisation of its kind"<sup>17</sup> with the almost inevitable teething problems such a situation involves but particularly because of the cyclone which hit Darwin on the 25th December 1974, seriously disrupting the lives of college staff and students. This last point must be borne in mind when examining comments made on the problems experienced

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<sup>15</sup> Walker, .M.G and Kennedy, T. "Open Learning: An Australian Experiment in Self-Paced, Personalized, Distance Education by Learning Contract" Australian Journal of Adult Education, XVII, 3, November 1977, p13.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. pp 13-14.

<sup>17</sup> Anderson and others. Communities and Colleges, p1.



by Darwin Community College particularly in its first year of operation.<sup>18</sup> Anderson and his colleagues sympathised with college staff in this situation and pointed out that "perhaps the most beneficial effect of the cyclone has been to make possible a second start for the College and the chance to change things found to be unsatisfactory in 1974".<sup>19</sup>

In general Darwin Community College from its inception had to face problems caused by the uncertainty of its position within Australian post-secondary education and the nature of its geographic and social context. More particularly the teaching staff have found that "there is no clear reference group in Australia to which they may refer for support in professional or industrial matters. Universities and colleges of advanced education each have professional associations, but there is no body to which community colleges belong and their staff are concerned that experience in a community college may not be recognised when employment is sought elsewhere". Students are also concerned that their qualifications should be recognised by employers, and by universities and colleges of advanced education should they seek credit for units studied at the College. Identity problems exist in other respects as well. The college "does not belong to any one of the sectors which are co-ordinated by federal or state agencies and therefore cannot be evaluated according to the rules and procedures which are understood throughout the post-secondary sector in Australia. Nor, when it is devising its own internal academic organisation can it refer to the experiences of any other institution in Australia, for

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<sup>18</sup> "The Williams Report" also made the same comment. See: Education, Training and Employment, Report of Inquiry into Education and Training (Vol.1) under the Chairmanship of Professor B.R. Williams, A.G.P.S., Canberra, 1979 - (to be known as "The Williams Report"), p781.

<sup>19</sup> Anderson and others, op.cit. p9.

there is none like it".<sup>20</sup>

The very newness of the institution and the lack of experience in Australia of multi-level community colleges has also led to a confusion within the college of the meaning and significance of the qualifying word "community". "In practice the term is applied by members of the community both to the community which is the College and to the community around the College". Even those who share a similar general interpretation of the meaning of "community" fail to agree when the concept is examined in greater depth. It was found that "within the College an idea of unity of knowledge has been used as a test of a community and has led to protracted difficulties with the academic organisation. For example, the proponents of unity have argued that organisation from higher level courses violates the idea of a community college". Those who opt for the concept of a "surrounding community" still experience uncertainties as to what this means. Is the surrounding community the city, the region or the nation, and when the extent of the College's community has been settled, which sections of that community has the greatest call on the College?<sup>21</sup>

Given these conceptual confusions and lack of reference points it is not surprising that the authors of the study found it necessary to devote a section on "Ideas and the Institution of a Multi-Level Community College" in which considerable reference to the ideals of the North American Community College was made, presumably as the only feasible way of developing a set of ideal characteristics against which Darwin Community College can be compared.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p.1.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p.2.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. Ch.4.

### Staff Attitudes Towards "The Community"

Most of the staff accepted the view that the college needed to look after the educational needs of a scattered population but few gave much thought on how to do it.<sup>23</sup> In the first two years the influential view was the "community" meant "community within the college". For example, in the area of engineering and science there was support for a structure embracing pre-trade, trade, certificate and diploma studies in the one broad organisational unit. The alternative structure of different levels occupying different organisational units was rejected as clashing with the community concept which had several strands to it:-

1. There should be interchangeability of staff and the common use of facilities for various levels.
2. "Wholeness" of knowledge should be the main guideline with the implication that students in the same programme area would have studies in common.
3. Prestige and reward should not be related to levels but skill and responsibility. It was noted that there was an under-estimation of the organisational difficulties involved given the differing educational requirements of subjects taught at different levels and the consequences of this for staff roles. For example, trade training takes place in workshops and is organised to fit in with employment, while teaching is of a didactic nature. Also that timetables, staff student ratios and pupil-contact hours have quite different meaning compared with other areas of the College. Anderson and his colleagues concluded that it is "difficult" to settle on a common set of rules for a programme including trade, certificate and tertiary studies.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>

Ibid. p.112.

<sup>24</sup>

Ibid. p.13.

These differences are sharply reinforced by different pay structures, attitudes and interests of the staff community. There are three levels of appointment - Grade I staff who are on a salary scale similar to those which are provided for academic staff in universities and C.A.E.s, Grade II staff who are on a commonwealth secondary school salary scale. Class contact hours also vary according to the level or appointment - 12 hours for Grade I, 16 for Grade II, and 20 hours for Grade III. Grade III staff are approximately equivalent to trade teachers of technical colleges. They tend to be older than staff at Grade II and to have little chance of progressing to that level as they lack academic qualifications, particularly bachelor degrees. Grade II staff tend to have similar qualifications to Grade I and aspire to positions at that level. They tend to be younger than Grade I staff, perhaps suggesting a correlation between age and occupational seniority.<sup>25</sup>

These differences of work conditions and salary levels cause tensions which are made worse by the fact that Grade I and Grade II staff interchange levels of teaching - a situation viewed as unfair particularly by the latter. Grade III staff also compare themselves with Grade I. One was reported as saying "we do more hours for less pay".

The College made attempts to draw up a single scale which was frustrated on two accounts. Grade I staff insisted on any new award being based primarily on the scale on which they are already placed with additions provided to its lower end, and secondly because the Commonwealth Department of Education "has not been responsive to the suggestions". Anderson points out:- "It is contrary to the Australian practice to devise special

salary scales for single institutions, and indeed this may not be to the advantage of staff who wish to transfer between institutions. However, the different salary scales and conditions of employment within the Darwin Community College detract from attempts to develop flexibility and cohesiveness".<sup>26</sup>

Differences between staff are powerfully reinforced by differences in values and interests. Social mixing is stratified by section. Anderson points out that barriers to communication are more serious in this situation than in multi-purpose colleges where it occurs between equals in different subject areas. In the case of a multi-level institution it also occurs between unequals in different grades.<sup>27</sup>

Trade staff seem to be isolated from all others including other Grade III staff such as those involved in the humanities, home economics and commercial studies. Despite their ambitions Grade II staff do not mix with Grade I staff. Finally, Grade III tertiary staff, given the "natural intellectual elitism of tertiary level courses", find it hard to come to terms with the egalitarian aspects of the community college ideology, particularly the need for considerable attention to be given to lower level courses and "to working with students at their present level of competence rather than allowing set course standards to determine who may receive tuition".<sup>28</sup>

#### College Students

Anderson commented that the College was more "egalitarian" in its student population than are other tertiary institutions in Australia. But, perhaps with the ideal characteristics of a community college based on the North American concept in mind, they suggested that participation

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p107.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p108.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p109.

could be widened through an open entry policy backed by bridging courses "from college entry to course entry" particularly credit courses, through a programme of non-award courses and activities, and by developing an effective counselling service.

They noted that, like the staff, the College student community was far from united. Divisions occurred through differences in interests and backgrounds. Paralleling the staff situation, trade students tended to keep to themselves. They are much younger and predominantly male in contrast with the rest of the College and less well motivated than adults who are studying in other courses. The fact that most students are part-time also reduces the possibility of student interaction and the development of a community spirit.<sup>29</sup>

As for people living at a distance from the College, Anderson et al. recommended that the College acts as an agent for courses of other institutions and as an initiator of its own external study courses. They suggested it provide study centre facilities (library and tutorial help) for students studying externally with southern universities and colleges. In the case of those not able to attend campus, they suggested there should be staff who have a responsibility for external studies written into their contracts, and that a separate department or office be established in the College to co-ordinate and administer external studies across the North (including the Northern part of West Australia) and to provide the necessary technical support services. Residential accommodation would be required for the students living at a distance from the campus.<sup>30</sup>

The Williams Committee subsequently received proposals that the College develop its own tertiary level studies as an integral part of a community college concept. It was not sympathetic as it considered the

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p.142.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p.277.

level of enrolments at Darwin Community College to be too low and recommended it investigate contracting arrangements with other C.A.E.s and universities.<sup>31</sup> There has been no suggestion that Darwin Community College should investigate extending educational services to isolated areas through approaches similar to the Open Learning Project of W.A.I.T.

There has been a suggestion, however, that within each of the areas of trade training, tertiary education and external studies, "there must be a finer assessment of needs and determination of priorities...." The recommendation has been made that the College have a Research and Development Unit with the responsibility of assessing, evaluation and meeting community needs as regards these parts of the overall programme. Anderson states: "Within their own area of expertise individual staff should be encouraged to become closely involved with the community groups they are serving and to monitor continually their courses' progress, measuring results against objectives, and making changes accordingly in order to achieve more apposite meeting of needs. More broadly, however, the College requires an overview of community needs in order to determine its priorities. For this the College needs a research capacity whereby it can draw together available statistics on the community and conduct its own surveys. From this information it can assess and evaluate needs and map existing courses against needs in order to indicate required changes".<sup>32</sup> If taken up this move would encourage the College to be more outer-directed. The move could also be reinforced by another recommendation that a College community co-ordinator be appointed "responsible for a variety of liaison work with the community and for initiating community education programmes". Anderson cautiously points out that "such an approach could not proceed... unless the College as a whole was committed to the concept".<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The Williams Report, pp.781-782.

<sup>32</sup> Anderson and others. op.cit p.278.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p.280.

It is hard to see how these recommendations, if implemented, can succeed given the professional and social divisions within the College. These appeared to be serious enough for Anderson and his team to recommend that the academic structure of the College be based on horizontal rather than vertical programme divisions, and that funding for different parts be kept separate to prevent academic drift. They also recommended that Grade I staff and the courses they teach be accorded adequate tertiary standing perhaps by the granting of C.A.E. status to this section.<sup>34</sup> Some of these problems, particularly the ones caused by differences in salary levels and working conditions may have more chance of being overcome in the near future with the formation of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, and the growing acceptance of the need for greater co-ordination at federal and state levels.

#### The Proposed Community College System for Tasmania

Two and a half years after the report "Post-Secondary Education in Tasmania", to be referred to as the "Karmel Report",<sup>35</sup> the decision was made in Tasmania to create a community college system based on the integration of TAFE colleges, senior secondary or matriculation colleges, and Adult Education. The Report noted that there was a low level of tertiary participation in Tasmania compared with other States which appeared "to be due to two distinct factors:- First, low retention into the upper levels of secondary schooling and secondly, low progression from secondary to tertiary education".<sup>36</sup>

When participating figures were broken down by area, it was shown the level of tertiary participation from the south of the State was more than twice that from the north in 1975, despite the fact that slightly more than half the population lives in the north.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid. pp.112-114.

<sup>35</sup> Report of the Committee on Post-Secondary Education in Tasmania, under the Chairmanship of Professor Peter Karmel, A.G.P.S. Canberra, 1976. To be known as "The Karmel Report".

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p.38.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p.40.



The TEND Report<sup>38</sup> also commented on the high dropout rate from secondary school once students reached the age of 16 when compulsory education ends in Tasmania. Three factors were thought significant in influencing this situation:-

1. The inability of many parents to see the value of education beyond the compulsory limit for their children. For students who do proceed beyond Year 10, their own and their parents' ambition are often inappropriately directed at matriculation, although there is available a much wider range of studies from which more suitable courses could be selected.
2. The lack of local facilities for further education in some rural areas ... In none of these areas is it possible for a student to obtain a complete secondary education without substantial travel to a metropolitan centre.
3. The view of many students that much of the secondary work is irrelevant. Many of the students in Years 11 and 12 decide to take matriculation subjects not because they find them interesting nor because they intend to proceed to the university or College of Advanced Education, but because to have passed in Higher School Certificate subjects is thought to be a useful qualification in job-hunting. Many, finding that they do not make much progress with the subjects and having no great interest in them, decide to discontinue their schooling. There are few non-academic courses, especially technical courses, not tied to apprenticeship training, yet for many 16 year olds such courses would be more relevant and more attractive than those offered at present.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Tasmanian Education: Next Decade. Report of Next Decade (TEND Committee under the Chairmanship of Professor W.F. Connell, Education Department, Tasmania, Hobart, 1978. To be known as "The TEND Report".

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. pp.72-73.

The TEND Report argued the benefit of combining vocational, general education and adult education, and, by implication, making post-compulsory educational provision in the new community colleges more attractive and relevant to the 16-20 age group:- "... the divorce between vocational and general education that the separation of institutions represents is in our view educationally unsound and has led to the narrowing of vocational education, and to the impoverishment of general education.

The development of community colleges of this kind suggested here means the combining of a third main function - that of adult education - with the two already mentioned - vocational and general education +... We think it appropriate to combine this work in the same institution with higher secondary level vocational and general education because much of it appears to us to be of the same standard and to cover many of the areas of adult interest. We think also that it is good educational policy for young adults of 16-20 to become accustomed to working in a college with facilities for adults to which they can expect to return from time to time for further education".<sup>40</sup>

The Williams Committee took a great interest in the TEND Report, particularly given its implied primary interest in promoting higher retention rates for schooling through the mechanism of community colleges. If school retention rates could be increased for years 11 and 12 throughout Australia, the teenage unemployment rate would drop.<sup>41</sup> The committee saw the strength of TEND's position as depending on three assumptions, the first explicit and the other two implied, namely:-

1. There is a fundamental flaw in the design of trade training and the idea of apprenticeships - in industry is rapidly becoming untenable.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid. pp.79-80.

<sup>41</sup> The Williams Report, p86.

2. Unions and employers will change their ideas on training requirements.
3. The proposed community colleges of Tasmania would be able to maintain a satisfactory range of programmes not only for the 15-19 age group but also for older aged persons in the middle-level area. These were viewed as "bold assumptions".<sup>42</sup>

The first two of this type of community college are scheduled to commence in 1980.<sup>43</sup> Probably the most immediate matter to be overcome is the problem of devising common salary scales and working conditions for all staff involved, particularly if some of the difficulties experienced by Darwin Community College are to be avoided. There is also the related question of devising a suitable administrative structure for the new institutions. As in the case of community college proposals and developments in the Northern Territory, the Tasmanians have no suitable reference points on these matters within Australia.

The matter is further complicated by the fact that the proposed Tasmanian community college is really a post-compulsory multi-level institution, rather than a post-secondary multi-level institution involving the co-ordination of programmes from the different post-secondary sectors, thereby making any lessons to be gained from the Darwin Community College situation less relevant. Once again comparisons are being sought with an overseas model, this time English tertiary colleges. Given the very close parallels in the functions and purposes of Tasmanian technical colleges and senior secondary colleges compared with the ancestry systems

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p111.

<sup>43</sup> Further Education in Tasmania. A Report to the Director-General of Education by Working Parties established in October 1978 to consider arrangements for a Division of Further Education in 1979, Education Department. Hobart, 22nd December 1978, para 2. 12 (a), p11.

of the English Tertiary college - the technical college and the sixth form college - many good comparative insights could be gained. However it may not be wise to extend comparison beyond administrative and industrial matters since the English tertiary colleges so far have not developed within a co-ordinated post-secondary or post-compulsory educational frame-work. The Tasmanian community colleges will be expected to co-ordinate their educational programmes with those offered by the Tasmanian College of Advanced Education (TCAE) and possibly the University of Tasmania. It will be the role of the Tertiary Education Commission of Tasmania (TECT) to advise the Tasmanian Minister of Education on ways to achieve greater co-ordination. A potential problem for the community colleges is that their role in relation to these other institutions may have to be defined before they have had a chance to establish their identities and therefore their sense of purpose.

The question of certification, particularly given the continued existence of an externally conducted higher school certificate examination vitally affecting the senior secondary college system, will have to be handled very carefully if the community colleges want to create the best conditions for developing flexible curricula. The existence of this examination may continue to discourage the less academically able students from considering a continuation of their secondary school education beyond the age of 16, or at least completing two years in the community college.

The Karmel Report noted that the participation rate in the TAFE sector in Tasmania was markedly lower than for Australia as a whole,<sup>44</sup> and that, in 1975, "enrolment in apprenticeship and post-trade courses accounted for some 38% of total technical college enrolments". The

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<sup>44</sup> The Karmel Report, p45.

enrolment level for technician courses was 27%.<sup>45</sup> This bias could also discourage flexibility of access, particularly for students outside the 16 to 20 age bracket as apprenticeship trades tend to discriminate against the enrolments of adults.<sup>46</sup>

The Karmel Report concluded that the levels of Tasmanian participation in TAFE, excluding the apprenticeship areas, was also well below the corresponding figures for other states, especially in the area of para-professional training. It considered that there was considerable scope for expansion in "middle-level work" and therefore "for TAFE in Tasmania to broaden its base and expand its clientele in response to the types of community need which are currently provided for in other states and which can be expected to develop in Tasmania".<sup>47</sup>

In the case of the Launceston area it suggested that "middle-level work could be conducted by the proposed Institute of Advanced Education rather than the community colleges. This view was expressed despite the fact that the Karmel committee received submissions arguing that middle-level training in the field of engineering should be developed in technical colleges as it was claimed that the T.C.A.E. "had neglected this level of training".<sup>48</sup>

Presumably the committee was influenced by the proposed development of the Australian Maritime College which would benefit from the provision by another institute of UG3 courses. As the College was to be located very near the Institute it appeared logical to suggest the latter provide the service for Launceston. However this development may pose problems for the future development of community colleges in the

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p26.

<sup>46</sup> TAFE in Australia: Report on Needs in Technical and Further Education, Vol. 1, A.G.P.S. Canberra, 1974, (Known as "The Kangan Report") p2.

<sup>47</sup> The Karmel Report, p45.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p35.

Launceston areas given this potential restriction of development into a significant component of para-professional training.

The public's attitude towards the proposed community colleges will also be important in determining their success. One difficulty is that "for much of their history (the technical colleges) have obviously not had a high priority in the educational system. The new colleges are well designed and well equipped, but the older ones, Hobart and Launceston, which house about 70% of the students, could scarcely be said to have been designed at all and are most inadequately equipped".<sup>49</sup> Hortle has also commented on the low status of vocational education in Tasmania.<sup>50</sup>

The Tasmanian Government is making a strong effort to improve and upgrade technical college resources - new building projects have begun in Launceston and Hobart which will attempt to provide more attractive surroundings, and it is hoped that this disadvantage will be gradually overcome.

The different traditions of the ancestry systems involved in forming community colleges may also make for difficulties in encouraging co-operation between staff. Technical college staff have shown considerable scepticism in the Education Department's ability to develop a strong TAFE sector "possibly with responsibilities for other aspects of post-secondary education in this state", and which "would overcome some of the ... present difficulties in gaining acceptance for its differences in approach, use requirements and policies which did not always accord with the predominantly school-oriented functions of the Education Department."<sup>51</sup> The Kearney Report on tertiary education in Tasmania

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<sup>49</sup> The TEND Report, p.76.

<sup>50</sup> Hortle, B.A. Some Impressions of Upper Secondary Education Overseas, paper given to Southern Members of the Tasmanian Chapter of the Australian College of Education, 24 August 1976.

<sup>51</sup> The Karmel Report, p.33.

recommended the separation of the technical and further education sector from the Education Department.<sup>52</sup> Given the similarities in the traditions of technical colleges in England and Australia, and in the English sixth form colleges compared with the Tasmanian senior secondary colleges, the differences in ideologies, identities and interests between schools and colleges in England which were noted by Ronald King would also substantially apply to Tasmanian technical and senior secondary colleges. For the former, the dominant ideology could be summarised as one of viewing the college as "an association" where students enter into contracts on registration under which they own obligations and from which they derive certain rights in terms of access to college facilities. The latter gravitate more to the concept of "the community" involving more intimate, affective, enduring and involuntary relationships. Pupils have no contract, but have obligations which are expected to be expressed as loyalties. What few rights they have may be taken away and later returned as privileges.<sup>53</sup>

As noted in the analysis on English community colleges, the outer-directed tendencies of adult education may place it in conflict with the more inner-directed values of staff from the schools sector. It may also find itself suffering from status problems in its relations with the other sectors.<sup>54</sup> Intra-college conflict caused by these differences

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<sup>52</sup> Report of Ministerial Working Party on Tertiary Education, Tasmania, under the Chairmanship of D.A. Kearney, Printing Section, University of Tasmania, 1976. Report known as "The Kearney Report".

<sup>53</sup> King, Ronald. School and College: Studies of Post-Sixteen Education London, Henley and Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976, pp. 150-152.

<sup>54</sup> See for example Williams, Graham. "Managing Community education: a Leicestershire case Study", Adult Education, National Institute of Adult Education, 50, 6, March 1978, pp.370-375.

may be reduced if a coherent salary structure and common working conditions are satisfactorily negotiated, and if there is a reasonable degree of staff movement between the traditional ancestry systems.

The Tasmanian Education Department is committed to a policy of general decentralisation of administration and a corresponding strengthening of its regional offices.<sup>55</sup> Chris Duke has pointed out however that the problems of planning and co-operation can be accentuated by the trend towards decentralisation.<sup>56</sup> It could be argued, however, that the need for co-ordination in Tasmania as far as the community colleges are concerned is less serious, given that the overall control for all components of the colleges lies with the Education Department solely. The Tasmanian colleges perhaps should be thought of less as post-secondary and more as post-compulsory institutions. There is no sector or part of the colleges which is not funded substantially by the Tasmanian Government. Commonwealth Government funds are significant, particularly in the area of technical and further education, but it is not anywhere near as important as in the community colleges of the Northern Territory. Only the N.W. Region of Tasmania where the community colleges will be expected to help extend the provision of "higher education", particularly courses contracted through the TCAE, could there be a potential co-ordination problem caused in part by community colleges becoming multi-sectoral in the post-secondary educational sense, and partly because of decentralist policies.

Another aspect of the centralisation-decentralisation issue has been raised by Professor W.G. Walker. He refers to two types of continua, Type A and Type B. The decentralist policies of education

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<sup>55</sup> The TEND Report, pp. 38-39.

<sup>56</sup> Duke, Chris. Recurrent Education: Policy and Development in OECD Member Countries. Australia, CERI, OECD, 1974, p.53.



departments in Australia, including Tasmania, are largely of Type B which "refers to the process of decision-making by administrative officers to whom responsibility is delegated by a school system".<sup>57</sup> The Type A continuum "refers to decision making in the area of public debate and of partisan politics and involves citizen representation in policy making through the election of legislatures, boards and officials".<sup>58</sup> Walker points out that "the Australians ....., prodded by the scathing comments about the lack of chiefly Type A decentralisation by U.S., Canadian and English observers....., have become very much concerned about at least Type B decentralisation in the course of the last two decades". On the other hand "Type A decentralisation has very few supporters in Australia and has never until recently been seriously considered as an alternative, and then almost solely in the Australian Capital Territory".<sup>59</sup> He firmly states that in his opinion "the key administrative goals of flexibility and adaptability are correlates of direct citizen interest and are hence obtainable in full measure only through Type A decentralisation".<sup>60</sup>

In Tasmania the hope is that the community colleges will encourage community involvement through the appointment of community representatives on college councils and policy making bodies such as

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57 Walker, W.G. "Administrative Structure: Centralization or Decentralization?" in Designing a New Education Authority, edited by G.S. Harman and C. Selby Smith, Occasional Report No.2, Education Research Unit, Research School of Social Science, A.N.U., Canberra, 1973, p.220.

58 Ibid. p.219.

59 Ibid. p.222.

60 Ibid. p.226.

the State Council for Further Education. However it has already been noted by the Kangan Report that the technical colleges of Tasmania are not as advanced as the Victorian technical colleges where the community is involved in State Councils, college councils and committees which have responsibilities that involve executive decision-making powers.<sup>61</sup>

In the case of the secondary school sector, the TEND Report noted that in general the teaching profession had mixed feeling on the issue:-

"We have already stated that as well as a noticeable amount of undoubted enthusiasm for strengthening the links between community and school, there is probably a considerable amount of indifference. In some cases we have been told, that among some parents, there is a positive dislike of returning to school which is associated with failure, boredom and unhappiness. There is, too, among a number of teachers, a considerable reluctance to become involved with the community. It is not easy to overcome these attitudinal barriers".<sup>62</sup> The issue of community involvement in community colleges could well be problematic therefore. If this occurs there could be loss of adaptability of the colleges to the broad educational needs of their local communities.

Approximately one-third of the population of Tasmania lives outside urban areas. In the case of the regions of the North and North-West, the percentages are even higher. The TEND Report gave some attention to the problem of increasing the retention rates of years 11 and 12 for students from rural areas by providing "more educational opportunities at the post-compulsory school stage" in selected District or High Schools.<sup>63</sup> It did not consider the possibility of using the

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<sup>61</sup> The Kangan Report, Vol.1 p55.

<sup>62</sup> The TEND Report, p69.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. p78.

resources and facilities of urban-based community colleges to extend post-compulsory educational provision outside of their immediate urban environments, and its recommendations regarding post-compulsory education for rural areas were couched largely in terms of the needs of the 16-20 age groups. The needs of older age groups were not considered. It could be argued that the increasing maturity of teenage students may mean that many of the programmes devised for them could suit older students as well.<sup>64</sup> However many students in this age group tend to enrol in full-time courses which may not suit the circumstances of older people who tend to prefer part-time provision given employment and domestic commitments. Many adults may also need bridging and remedial education programmes before they can attempt courses leading to formal certification. At this point one of the comments made by the Anderson Report is worth repeating:- "In order to meet the needs of older students, universities and colleges will have to adapt admission criteria, educational methods and course structures; all these were developed in an era when young school-leavers constituted the overwhelming proportion of the under-graduate clientele".<sup>65</sup> The reference to the need to change educational methods and course structures may well be very relevant in the case of Tasmanian community colleges should there be a substantial increase in enrolments of older students.

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<sup>64</sup> For supporting evidence see The TEND Report, p72, and Brammall, C.J.S. Adolescence: Hit or Myth? paper given to the Northern Members of the Tasmanian Chapter of the Australian College of Education, 20 September 1978.

<sup>65</sup> The Anderson Report, p244 .

One interesting feature of the Tasmanian situation is the difference between its three educational administrative regions. These differences should encourage interesting variations in the community colleges of Tasmania. The Karmel Report noted the general disadvantage of the North-West Region in terms of access to post-secondary educational services in general, particularly of "higher education". As there is no campus of the TCAE or the University of Tasmania in that region, the Karmel Committee recommended that the position of Director of North-West Community Education be appointed "to arrange for the co-ordination and provision of post-secondary education programmes in the north-west region". The recommendation has been accepted and Dr. Mike Walker, previously the Director of the Open Learning Project of W.A.I.T., has been appointed. Should higher educational courses be developed in the North-West, perhaps through the community colleges developing contracting arrangements with the TCAE or the University of Tasmania or mainland higher educational institutions, it may be that the reference point for these institutions will increasingly become the North American community college or even Darwin Community College, rather than the tertiary college of England. If, in effect, a higher educational stratum is added to the "top" of the north-west colleges, problems of upward academic drift, co-ordination of programmes funded in significantly different ways, and multi-sectoral staff tensions could develop. It will also be interesting to see if the appointment of Dr. Walker with his interest in diffused outer-directed community college models will encourage the north-west colleges to take a special interest in the rural communities surrounding them.

In the case of the Northern Region there will be a considerable concentration of post-compulsory and higher educational provision in Launceston itself - two community colleges, the main campus of the

TCAE<sup>66</sup> and the Australian Maritime College. As already indicated the two community colleges in Launceston may not be able to develop the same range of middle-level, para-professional courses as is expected to occur in other regions, given the presence of the main campus of the TCAE which may diversify into more U.G.3 programmes.

There may also be a problem of extending campus-based community college programmes into the rural areas of the Northern Region, a serious matter given that approximately 44% of its population live outside of Launceston.

The Southern Region is far more urbanised than the other two, with approximately 82% of its people living in the State Capital of Hobart. The greater number of institutions now classified as part of the Division of Further Education makes the process of amalgamation into community colleges more administratively complicated. For the moment the policy is to try to create greater co-operation between this disparate group by referring to them as a "Community of Colleges".<sup>67</sup> The only likely candidates for becoming comprehensive post-compulsory community colleges are Rosny College on the Eastern Shore and the proposed college at Claremont. In this situation it could be suggested that a diffused outer-directed community college model could be developed along the lines of the Institute of the Kansas Metropolitan Junior College District. Such an approach would have the dual advantage of promoting access amongst those sections of the community that dislike entering educational buildings,

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<sup>66</sup> The title "The Tasmanian Institute of Advanced Education" recommended by The Karmel Report, has not been introduced as yet.

<sup>67</sup> Further Education in Tasmania, para.2. 12(c), p.11.

or who are not amongst the traditional supporters of further and higher education, and at the same time facilitating the very co-operation between the colleges that is desired as it involves no immediate need for existing colleges to undergo substantial administrative change.

The proposed Tasmanian community college system is potentially exciting, but will require further sensitive and far-sighted decisions to be taken at senior governmental and administrative levels for it to become a reality. Williams has pointed to the "bold assumptions underlying the proposed system," all of which suggest major changes in educational thinking will be required, particularly in the area of apprenticeship training, and in the attitudes of unions and employers to training requirements generally. The assumption that the community colleges would be able to cater for the middle-level needs of adults as well as those in the 15-19 age group also raises the question, which is being asked in other states, can a state education department with a long history of primary concern for compulsory education adequately help to develop a post-compulsory or post-secondary sector that must be co-ordinated with other sectors not under its direct control? This question, in turn, introduces the wider issue not raised by Williams of the need for well-planned and well-organised co-ordination of all sectors of post-secondary education in Tasmania. Until there is greater articulation between sectors, and until extensive credit transfer arrangements between institutions of different sectors can be developed, it is difficult to see how a movement for community colleges to develop flexible comprehensive curricula can be promoted. For example while the route to university entrance for the 16-19 age group is monopolised by the H.S.C. examination system, it seems unlikely that many students could be encouraged to take options that do not count as credits towards university

matriculation. Greater articulation involving a well-developed pattern of credit transfers offers the chance of breaking this monopoly and creating the conditions for diversification of curricula to take place. Finally, as for Australia as a whole, Tasmania needs to conduct more research into community college concepts if it is to fully explore the potential of the educational changes it wishes to introduce.

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